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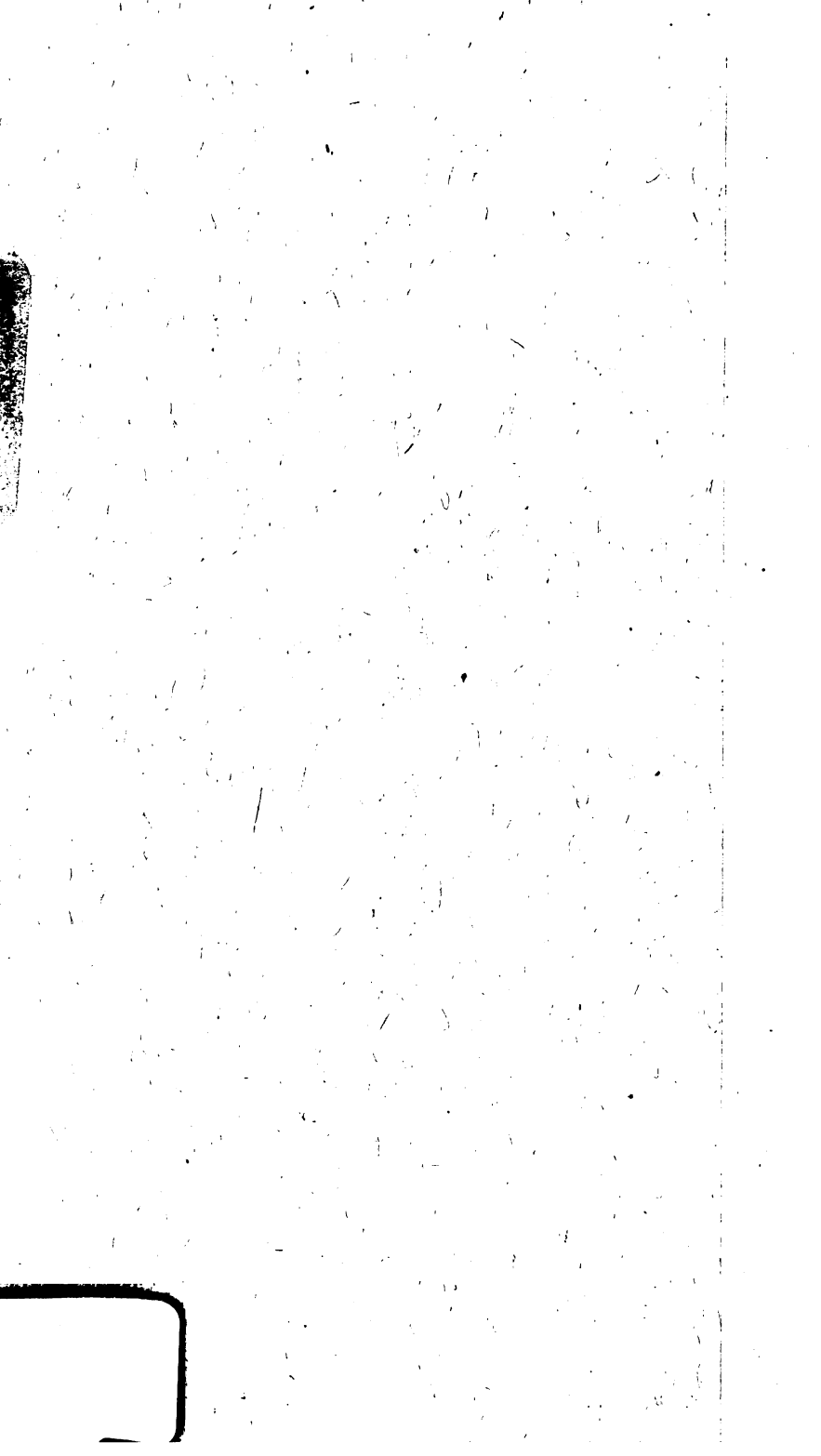
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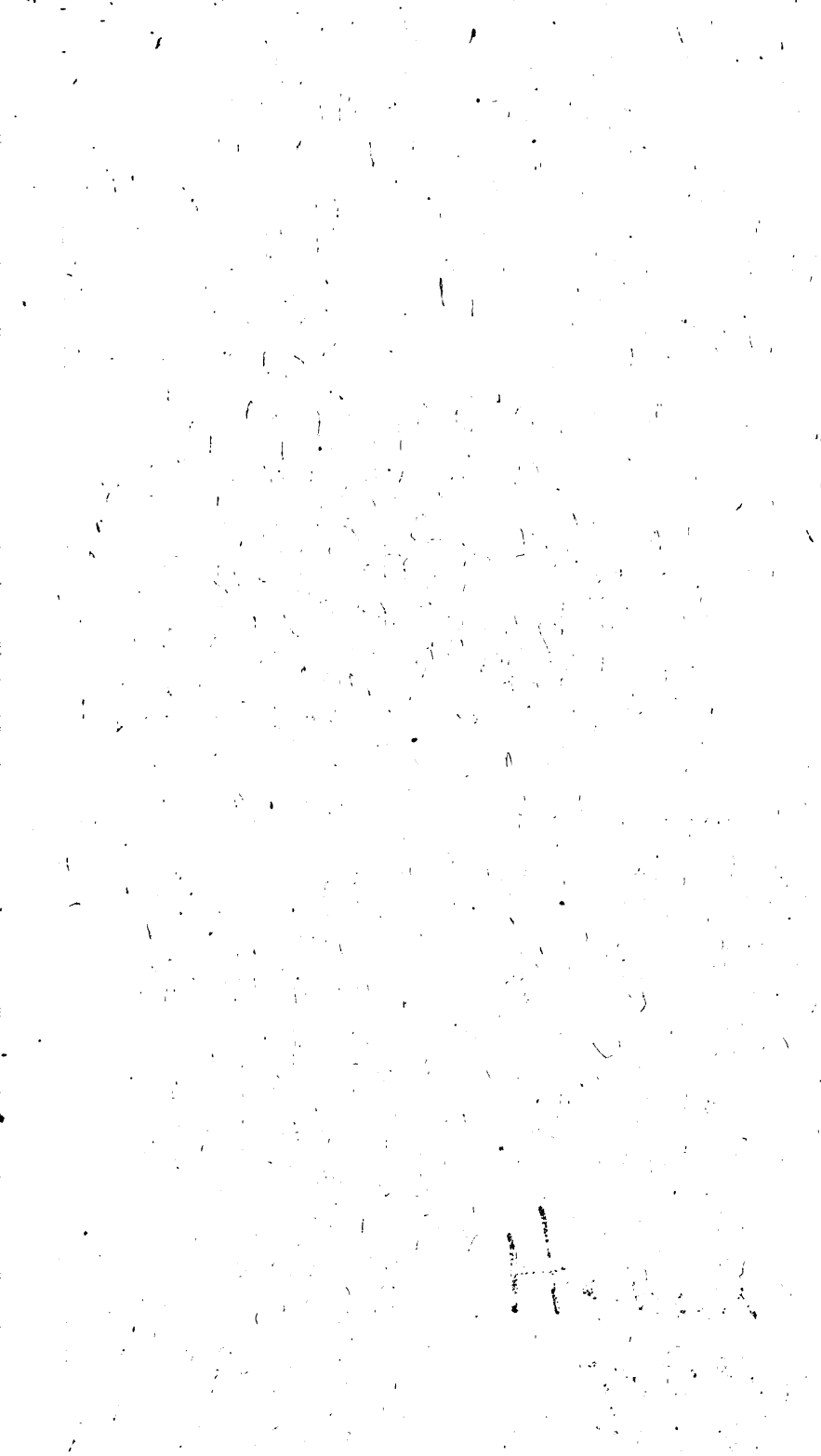
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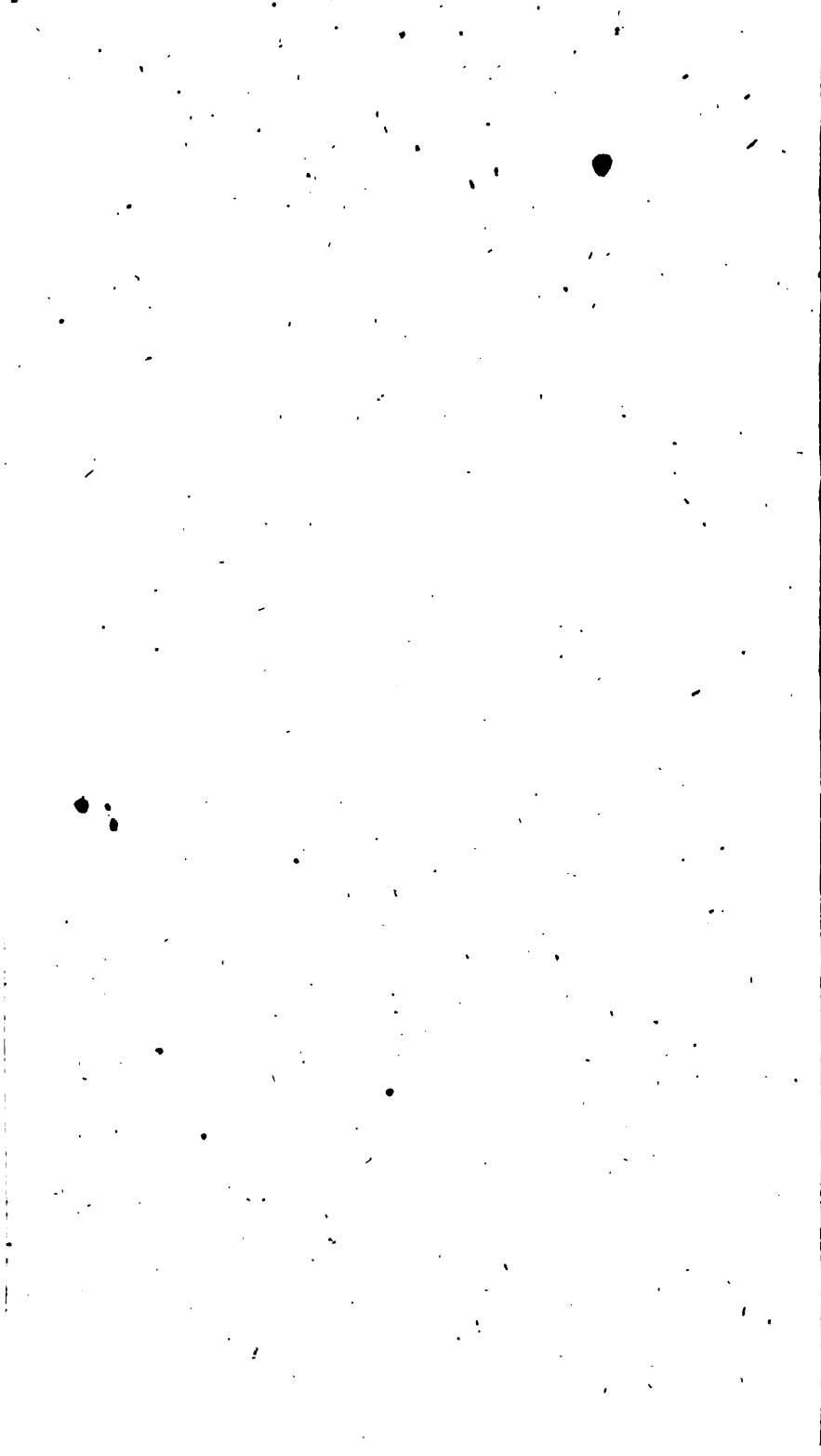


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# INFORMATION

CONCERNING THE

*STRENGTH, VIEWS, AND INTERESTS*

OF THE

POWERS PRESENTLY AT WAR;

INTENDED TO ASSIST TRUE FRIENDS TO THEMSELVES  
AND THEIR COUNTRY, TO JUDGE OF THE PROGRESS  
AND EFFECTS OF THE PRESENT WAR; AND TO  
DECIDE UPON THE GRAND QUESTION OF

*IMMEDIATE PEACE?*

OR WAR FOR ANOTHER CAMPAIGN?

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*BY ROBERT HERON.*

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*Nilil deest, si sit voluntas.*—SALLUST.

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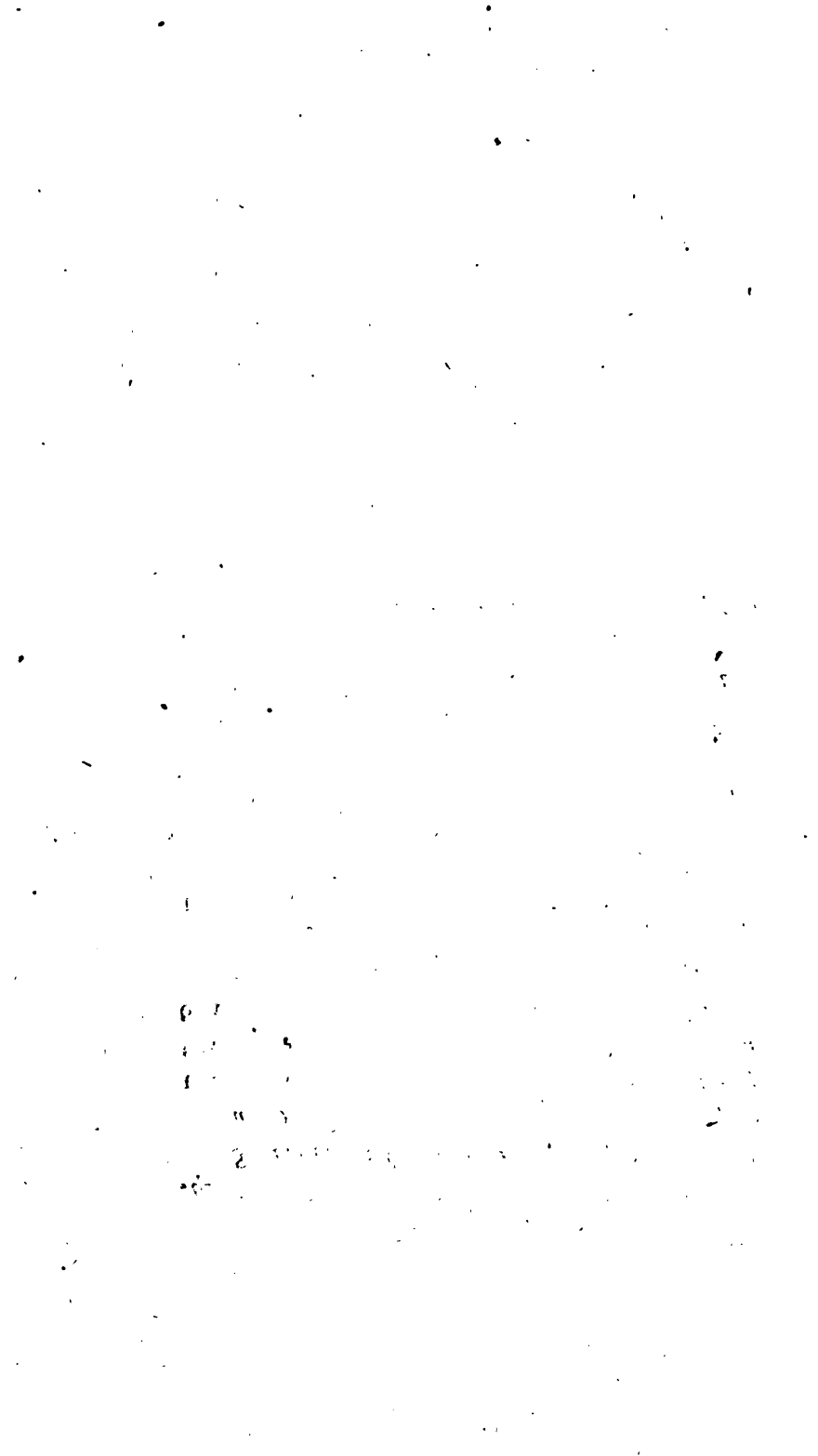
**M**ONTGAILLARD's *Sketch of the State of France*, having been justified, as to authenticity, by subsequent events, and by statements exhibited in the French Convention :

I have thought it worthy of being Translated, for the general information of my Countrymen ;

And have added some other articles, which, I suppose, may, in concurrence with it, be of use to enlighten Public Opinion, concerning the state and effects of the War,—and the remaining abilities of the Powers among whom it is carried on.

I am conscious of preparing and publishing the whole with intentions not unworthy of a Good Man. Nobody can be more sensible than I myself am, of the trivial, feeble, and imperfect character of the effort. But, why should not I, also, contribute my mite ? May God enlighten and direct my Countrymen, save and bless my Country !

R. HERON.



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A B S T R A C T  
OF THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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**T**HE first principles of man's nature are SOCIAL. But, the general weakness and ignorance of mankind, have ever rendered them as little capable of living together without GOVERNMENT, as they are of preserving or enduring life without the mutual helps and consolations of society.

The first *families* by which the earth was peopled, soon multiplied into *communities*. Over the DOMESTIC POWER of fathers arose the PUBLIC AUTHORITY of the strong, the bold, and the wise. DESPOTIC MONARCHY was gradually established



stablished amid incessant wars and conquests. Where tribes yet unsubdued, were crowded into contact with one another, and industry and warfare at the same time equally intermingled; those tribes, for the most part, coalesced into a **REPUBLIC**. Were the members of such a state spread through a territory of some extent, and already distinguished from one another by inequalities of power and property? their government became **ARISTOCRATIC**. Assembled within the walls of a town, or in a narrow district, they composed rather a **DEMOCRACY**. Barbarous war first produced **SLAVERY**; inhuman traffic fed and maintained it. Religion and philosophy by degrees gave **WRITTEN LAWS** and stability to forms of society and government which nature or accident had created.

Conquest was the first great object of ambition. Kings and demagogues alike, breathed continual hostility and war. The Republics of Greece exhausted each itself, and wasted one another, till the Macedonian yoke was easily imposed upon their necks. In Asia one mighty despotism had still risen upon the ruins of another, till the Persian empire was swallowed up in the Macedonian. The Romans extended their sway over Italy, and in conquering Italy, acquired habits of military discipline and activity,

vity, by which they were enabled to subdue the world.

A grand system of military government, gentle, yet vigorous; the combination of all that was excellent in the laws or wise in the policy of the most civilized nations, into one complex body of institutions; the diffusion of philosophy and the perfection of religion, conspired to prolong the duration of the Roman empire, for a period which no former Government, if as extensive and placed in similar circumstances, could possibly have equalled. It was overwhelmed and dissolved, when its military energy had been enervated, and its civil administration had become too languid, corrupt, and inefficient for the maintenance of order, or defence.

Barbarism and savage freedom settling on the ruins of this mighty political fabric, took that form of civil and military arrangements, which has been denominated FEUDAL. The subordination of an army was in it combined with the equal liberty of a democracy; the sufferings of slavery were alleviated, if not abolished, and its despondency cheered; a species of government complex and regulated, yet considerably free and energetic, was established over Europe. Religion, as well as military force, exalting its empire over the wreck of civility and knowledge, happily

happily mitigated the ferocity, and restrained the turbulence of its colleague.

Ere feodism and the papal hierarchy could be dissolved, knowledge, civility, and industry were to revive. The symptoms and the effects of their revival were various. Here it was gradual and productive of no convulsion; there it lapped the aristocracy, and added new force to the monarchy; on this side, the out-works of the hierarchy were melted away before the keen glance of knowledge; on that, they who had been consigned to a sort of milder slavery, were emancipated and raised by industry, yet their superiors not alarmed or depressed. In *Britain* the commons were emancipated so gradually, that their spirits were hardly at any time maddened by the change. In *Germany* the power of the hierarchy was broken, but the military aristocracy rather strengthened than injured by its decay. In *France* and in *Spain*, the monarchy gained; the hierarchy did not lose; the aristocracy fell; the people hardly appeared to rise.

In the mean time, the *eyes* of knowledge, and the *arms* of industry, seemed to be multiplied a thousand fold. The wide basis and massy structure of Feodism, and of the Christian Hierarchy, were singularly advantageous to their exertions; presenting a firm and permanent stage for them to act upon; instead of those shifting quicksands,

sands, amidst the fluctuations of which, their labours and discoveries had been in ancient times, continually overwhelmed and lost. Knowledge and industry acting in circumstances thus favourable, astonishingly improved and exalted the social and individual character of man in Europe. We have seen knowledge make every where, the most successful inroads into the empire of ignorance and unintelligent force. We have seen it gradually redress the injustice, and correct the impolicy of Feodism, without proceeding rashly to break down the fabric. We have seen it humanize the gloomy cruelty of superstition, calm the wildness of enthusiasm, and breathe into the popular forms of religion, a spirit by which they are rendered less unworthy of the God whom we adore. We have seen it teach RULERS, that the practice of justice and beneficence, and a ready compliance with the reasonable wishes of their subjects, are their truest glory and happiness; *subjects*, that in the present imperfection of human nature, not unrestrained licentiousness, but a condition regulated by equal, stable, and improveable laws, is the form of society the most favourable to their welfare. Never before was *mind* so fully or so generally unfolded and expanded; or the influence of *reason* so powerful in the direction of the civil affairs of men. It seemed as if public

Government

Government were fast advancing to the highest perfection of justice and political wisdom ; while the improvement of the general intelligence and virtue of individuals appeared to promise, that human society might at length perhaps arrive at a state in which the forms of government should be unnecessary. If many evils yet remained ; the triumph with which we could look back on all past Ages, proved that many had been abolished.

But, a train of events have taken place in one of the greatest of the kingdoms of Europe ; by which those fair prospects are overcast ; and it is rendered uncertain, whether all the chaos of the republican disorder and the despotic oppression of ancient times, may not be suddenly renewed,—the civilizing labours of Knowledge and Industry interrupted,—and their works destroyed.

Governments are ever poor. Of those of modern Europe, the British Government alone have found a sure resource against all exigencies, in continual borrowing. The particular modification of Feodism, of which the civil Constitution of Britain consists ; making the people the borrowers, and pledging the faith not simply of the government, but of the nation, for the payment, at least of the interest of the debt ; seems to render this resource inexhaustible, unless the national

al prosperity should by other causes be suddenly and fatally blasted \*.

THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, after bankruptcies, reductions of the coin, and every artifice of taxation which their *financiers* could contrive; found themselves at last unable to raise the sums necessary for supplying the magnificent luxury of their Court, for maintaining their influence in the general policy of Europe, and for defraying the expences of internal administration; otherwise, than by calling the nation, as in Britain, to regulate the taxation which they were to contribute, and to interpose their credit for the payment of debts. An Assembly of NOTABLES were summoned and consulted in vain. They could not act the part of legislators, nor give the full sanction of the nation, to the measures of the Court. They could not impose new taxes, upon authority more powerful than that of the Ministry, or of the Courts of Justice, which were the registers and interpreters of the laws. They were found neither sufficiently submissive, nor useful. The Court were persuaded, that the States-General of the Nation, could alone

\* I speak not here either of the advantages, or the disadvantages of the system of FUNDING. But I may, upon some future occasion, examine the subject of NATIONAL DEBT in all its possible relations; and endeavour to set these in a light in which they have not yet been exhibited.

lone relieve their perplexities, and extricate them out of their embarrassments.

The STATES-GENERAL were convoked. Very different were the views with which the Court and Ministry invited the representatives of the Nation to assemble;—from those with which the PEOPLE made their elections, and the candidates for legislative authority, solicited their suffrages. The *Court* hoped to purchase, by a few sacrifices of open direct power, a secret INFLUENCE which might be much more useful, and more effectually exercised: They hoped to throw the difficulties of Government, and the responsibility for its more dangerous and odious acts, upon the States-General, without making any resignation of real authority. The *People*, again, finding their voice to be at length necessary in the Government, aspired to obtain relief from oppressive taxes,—security against any future infringement of personal freedom,—the gratification of their envy and resentment, in the humiliation of the Nobles and Clergy. The SUPERIOR CLERGY, fearful of finding enemies in every other order, certain of being deprived, at least of some part of their authority and wealth, prepared to seek support in an adherence to the Crown, and in a concurrence in the views of the Nobles. The NOBILITY, willing to resign some of the more odious of their privileges

leges, and not uninfected with the principles of political reform, expected, however, to hold the balance between the Court and the People, and to satisfy the demands of the latter, at the expence chiefly of the Clergy and the Crown. All agreed in acknowledging the necessity of a reform in the Government: All were willing to expect that from this æra, a new order of things should commence: But, each order in the state, was disposed to insist, that all the necessary sacrifices should be made by the rest.

The *personal characters, the spirits, the principles, the private interests* called into action, upon this grand occasion, were also likely to have a powerful effect on its issue;—independently of the respective views and interests of the several orders. In the French Nation, were a number of PHILOSOPHERS, the disciples of Voltaire, of Montesquieu, of Helvetius, of Rousseau, Diderot, Quesnai, and D'Alembert; who, having been led by their preceptors, to detect the errors, the oppressions, the absurd pretensions of *feudism*, and of the *papal hierarchy*,—fancied, that *their* existence constituted the disgrace, and the misery of human nature, and that its perfection and happiness would be consummated in *their* absolute and final abolition; whose minds had been transported by the discovery of truth, and the detection of error and oppression, to a mad

B

enthusiasm,



enthusiasm, in which they imagined, that nothing could be truth, but their own extravagant fancies,—and that every thing must be oppression, except the dissolution of all existent order ; who, in truth, longed only to gain *force* to the side of what they called Philosophy, as it had been before on the side of priestcraft, of aristocracy, of monarchy,—and were perhaps unconsciously prepared, then, to abuse it to capricious or selfish purposes, as it had been continually abused before. A MONEYED INTEREST had been likewise formed in France, of *Bankers, Usurers, Merchants, Farmers of the Revenue, and the Creditors of the State* ; These men were concerned to procure the solemn impledgment of the National Security, for such public debts as had already been, or as might be contracted ; to gain to the mercantile interest, new consequence in the scale of the state ; and to make money and industry triumphant as much as possible, over all other advantages. There were the INFERIOR LAWYERS and CLERGY, a herd of busy, selfish, officious men ; for the greater part, without enlarged intelligence, abilities, or virtues ; but impatient to be something ; believing, that hypocrisy, unprincipled profligacy, and bustling officiousness might make them every thing ; aspiring to be politicians, in the hopes, that the same pretences, artifices, impudence, and chicanery, by which

which they distinguished or enriched themselves in their ordinary spheres of action, might also raise them to eminence in the state. The other private interests which were concerned in the formation of the States-General, appear to have referred directly to the views of the Crown, of the Ministry, or of some one or other of the constituted orders of the subjects. Ambition, discontent, public spirit, were general sentiments which urged forward the most active spirits in all ranks, to take a part in the eventful scenes which were preparing.

The States-General assembled. The eyes, the hopes, the fears, the wishes, the anxieties of the People, were universally turned upon their meeting. Hardly had they appeared before their Sovereign, ascertained the validity of one another's commissions, and made their first preparations for entering upon the national business; when the representatives of the Commons began to overbear the powers, privileges, and pretensions of the King, and of the other orders, with an impetuous energy, unrestrained by discretion in themselves, and altogether irresistible by the efforts of their opponents. They composed in their number, one half of the whole representation. The representatives of the inferior clergy, and some from among the representatives of the Nobles, were soon induced to take part with them.

them. They had only to remain obstinately inactive, till the King and the other orders should yield to their will ; for, without them, the rest could not act effectually ; but, instant provision was necessary to answer the exigencies of the State. They had more MIND among them than the Court, the Nobles, and the Clergy. Strong in the fears, the irresolution, and the imperfect union of the other orders ; and in that general popularity which they had gained, by the promise of a Golden Age, to be suddenly introduced by their exertions : They might perhaps have proceeded to assume alone, the whole public authority, legislative and executive ; had not the King's Counsellors, in good time, seen it to be vain to prolong the struggle for a distinction of Orders and of Houses in the Legislature.

Not only disappointed in their hopes of relief from the more embarrassing perplexities of government, and from the difficulties created by perpetual deficiencies in the revenue ; but, reduced by this obstinacy of the Commons in the Assembly of the States, to a situation more distressing than any that they had before experienced ; the Court and the Administration saw now no resource but in employing the army to punish the refractoriness of the Assembly, and at the same time, to restrain the growing turbulence  
of

of the people. It was already too late. The Representatives of the People, by the grand concession they had wrested from those of the Nobles and the Clergy, now possessed in the eyes of the Nation, the full authority of the united States-General; yet, by their superior numbers reinforced with deserters from the representation of the other orders, were enabled to prosecute the same measures in the Assembly, as if they had acted alone. Aware of danger from the troops which were assembled round them, they, without loss of time, alarmed the populace first of Paris, and then of the whole kingdom; who were easily roused to abet their cause. The troops also, won by temptations which *they* found means to offer, chose rather to accept augmented pay, and remain at peace with their fellow-subjects; than to draw their swords against their own fathers, brothers, and children, without hope of those largesses which the National Assembly had in their power to bestow. By a want of bread, artificially produced, the people were inflamed in Paris to insurrection. The walls of the Bastille were levelled to the ground. The Court were scattered. The king, with his family, were dragged from Versailles to Paris. The flame was spread, with the rapidity of lightning, over the whole kingdom. All pre-existent law and order were every where furiously trampled

trampled upon, as oppression which could not be too speedily abolished. The National Assembly had seemed to cry, *havock!* and let slip the dogs of pillage! And the populace impatiently proceeded to burn, slay, and plunder, at their pleasure.

The contest was now over. The King, the clergy, and the nobles remained at the mercy of the Commons. The *philosophers* were now to abolish, for ever, the evils of what they termed *Superstition* and *Tyranny*; they who aspired to be *Demagogues*, to distinguish themselves by factious haranguing, and popular intrigue; they who had *resentments* against the Nobles, the Clergy, or the King, to *proclaim* and to *gratify* them; they who raged with a passion for the name of *liberty*, without knowing what it meant, to rage and exult aloud, and to hug themselves, that they had found it; while for the *populace* who were inclined to idleness, riot, robbery, theft, or murder, there was provided, in the confusion between the abolition of the *old*, and the full establishment of the *new* order of things, abundance of employment and enjoyment, to their liking.

Early in the struggle with the King and his adherents, the National Assembly declared themselves *permanent*, at least till they should have framed a new CONSTITUTIONAL CODE for the State. They now proceeded in this great undertaking.

dertaking. The possessions of the Church, were added to those of the Crown, to form a fund for the discharge of the national debts. The titles, the honours, the distinctions, and all the privileges of the Nobility, were abolished. The king was divested of all but a partial executive power, which might be easily palsied in his hands, and a vain semblance of a share in the legislative authority, which was soon to afford a pretence for his ruin. The Nation was declared to be the *Sovereign*; the national assembly, legally constituted, and acting openly, with the knowledge and concurrence of the King, to be, for all legislative purposes, in effect, the Nation. All ancient distinctions of states and provinces, were destroyed; and the territory of France divided anew, into eighty-three departments. Territory, population, contribution to the public revenue, were made the measures to regulate the rights of election into the Legislative Assembly. Assemblies, Primary and Electoral, were, every two years, to form anew, by successive elections, the national representation. A scanty revenue was left to the National Church; but, its other privileges were all taken away. The Press was declared to be free. Juries were appointed to decide upon innocence or guilt, in judicial trials. The collection of the taxes was committed to administrators. A species of national paper-money

ney was issued, which constituted the bearer a creditor of the state, whose bill was to be paid from the sales of the national lands, and from this fund alone. That paper-money was intended to answer immediate exigencies, to discharge, gradually, all the public debts, and to interest an opulent party in the support of the new Constitution. At length, the Assembly, satisfied with their labours, declared the Constitution perfect; and invited the people to chuse new representatives, who might compose a second legislative assembly, after the approaching dissolution of the first.

Much has been said against these changes and new institutions; and not a little in their defence. But, it is plain, that they left the government of France, a monarchy, only in name. The powers conferred on the King, were illusory; and might seem as if they had been bestowed in mockery. Royalty was not altogether abrogated; but, was reduced to such feebleness, that it might be crushed, at any time, without an effort. The conduct of the National Assembly to their humbled Monarch, was that of a tyger sporting maliciously with the half-lifeless prey which he is about to devour.

If philosophy and patrictism did indeed *guide* the storm, by which the ancient order of things in France was overthrown, and *dictate* the new institutions

institutions by which it was replaced ; they entered less in the subsequent train of their proceedings, than in their first movements, and fundamental principles. The patriots, philosophers, and legislators of France, seem not to have known, that, whether we seek to better our own condition, or to reform the state of the society to which we belong ; the only just means we can employ is, INFORMATION, COMMUNICATED, WITHOUT THE USE OF FORCE, TO IMPRESS IT, AGAINST CONVICTION ; WITHOUT ANY UNFAIR ADDRESS TO THE PASSIONS, WHICH MIGHT WIN A PREJUDICED AND UNDISCERNING ASSENT ; WITHOUT THE USE OF SUCH ABSTRACT TERMS AS MIGHT RENDER IT UNINTELLIGIBLE OR AMBIGUOUS. They forgot that the grand mischiefs which they wished to remedy, had their origin in the established influence of force and falsehood over intelligence ; and that they could not, without extreme wickedness, use, in the accomplishment of their reforms, an influence which it was the object of those reforms, to banish from human affairs. They considered not, that ignorance in the people whom they pretended to emancipate, prejudices, interests, and passions in the Nobles, the Clergy, the Court, and the Potentates of Europe, would infallibly oppose their new system ; and that such ignorance, prejudices, interests, and passions, however wrong in themselves, were not to be corrected or opposed by Philosophy



phy or Patriotism, with other arms than unwearied beneficence, and meek, candid truth. They forgot, that they had, or could acquire, no rights to sacrifice any one part of their Countrymen to the passions or interests of the rest. They discerned not, that all the improvements of modern times had been accomplished by truth alone, enlarging and convincing intelligence; and that, by employing force, the fears of one order, or the fury of another, they should counteract, for as much as in them lay, the operation of reason, science, and virtue, and should restore, in some measure, the empire of barbarism, ignorance, and mere material power. They understood not, that respect to the *general good*, requires, in every country, *all the members of the State* to maintain the existent order of things, till it shall imperceptibly change, without convulsion or discontent, solely by the general improvement of private activity, intelligence, and virtue; while it forbids *those who benevolently desire reform*, to seek it by any means which might excite subjects to insurrection, or provoke rulers to sanguinary measures. They have brought upon philosophy, the same disgrace, with which priestcraft and political artifice were before dishonoured.

Meanwhile, the other sovereigns and nations of Europe looked not on, unconcerned. Those  
who

who were already in a state of freedom, more unrestrained than that enjoyed under the old government of France, rejoiced to see the subjects of the greatest absolute monarchy in Europe, at length emancipated from feudal oppression. The subjects of Governments, not less absolute and oppressive than that of France had been, were roused by the example of the French, to hope, discontent, and threats of resistance. Some began to fear, that the French Nation might acquire, in consequence of the revolution, a new energy of character, and a turbulence of spirit, dangerous to the general liberties of Europe. The subjects of most of the neighbouring kingdoms caught, by sympathy, a portion of that enthusiasm by which the French were transported. Kings, nobles, and prelates beheld, with pity and indignation, the fall of the hierarchy and nobility of France, and the humiliation of its monarch; and seemed to dread, that they might themselves be overtaken by the same fate.

Upon the first triumph of the popular party in the States-General, a number of the courtiers, nobles, and princes of the blood royal, had hastily retired out of the kingdom. The ravages and murders to which the people were let loose, or prompted by their demagogues, soon spread universal terror among all the nobility and superior clergy who remained behind. They  
were

were forced to emigrate, one after another, in the utmost haste and confusion. Their complaints and execrations against their countrymen, resounded through all Europe. ' Their country ' was ruined ; their King divested of his authority, his dignity insulted, his personal liberty ' under restraint, nothing but a mock-majesty ' left to him ; their Church was sacrilegiously ' plundered ; the very name of Nobility was ' proscribed ; the venerable system of their laws ' was destroyed ; one of the eyes of Europe was ' suddenly extinguished ; not Frenchmen, but ' anarchists had done this ; their purpose was ' not so much liberty, as robbery ; should the ' other Courts not interfere speedily to restore ' the ancient order of things in France, the contagion of popular insolence would assuredly ' spread into all quarters, and those Courts would ' themselves fall the next sacrifices to its fury ; ' compassion, honour, prudence, called, all alike ' upon them, to rescue the king of France from ' the treasonable hands of his own subjects ; and ' to quench, in its first out-breaking, a flame ' which was going forth to devour Europe !'

Moved by these and other considerations, a number of the Powers of Europe, confederated against the new Constitution and Government of France. Whatever the declarations of the French King in his present circumstances, it was

was not to be supposed, that he could be averse to the restitution of those powers and honours which had been violently ravished from the regal dignity. His brothers, and almost all who had been formerly believed to direct or influence his Councils, were those who now invoked an invasion for his deliverance. A correspondence was carried on between the emigrant princes with their followers,—and adherents to the interests of the old government who still remained about the King's person, or at least within the kingdom. They all flattered themselves, and strove to persuade those Powers whose aid they solicited; that France was universally disgusted with its new Constitution; and that almost the whole nation would, with open arms, receive invaders who should enter their territories, to restore the ancient order of things. Supplies of money were still obtained from France. The number of the emigrant party was continually increased by the accession of new emigrants who brought money, information, abilities, courage, or at least hopes, to aid the enterprize in which they were engaging. The affections of consanguinity concurred with reasons of State, to induce first the brother, and then the nephew of the Queen of France, to put themselves at the head of the Confederacy, and to bring the whole force of the House of Austria

to the prosecution of its purposes. The Prussians, still retaining those military habits which they had acquired under the great Frederic; ambitious to maintain, or even to exalt their new rank among the Great Powers of Europe; and proud of the success with which they had lately settled the civil contentions in Holland; were forward, upon such motives as these, to take a leading part in the proposed invasion. Austria and Prussia openly declared war against France under its new Constitution; the Emigrants were taken into avowed co-operation with them; the Duke of Brunswick, the conqueror in some sort of Holland, was put at the head of their combined forces; the more secret concurrence of other Powers was accepted, as sufficient for the present; and a mighty army prepared to march out of Germany into France.

At the prospect of the gathering storm, all in France was suspicion, anxiety, and alarm. But, the authors of the new Constitution, had the passions of the people, and the property of the Emigrants in their hands. They assumed a lofty and boastful language; imposed new restraints upon the King and his family; thwarted his desires with increasing insolence; adopted measures of more embittered severity against the Emigrants; and by a thousand arts, inflamed

ed the rage of the People to frenzy more extravagant and desperate than ever.

At length, however, in spite of all their vigilance, the Royal Family escaped from Paris. For three days, they continued their flight undiscovered, towards the northern frontier of the kingdom. A few hours more of continued flight, would have carried them safe to where they were expected by faithful servants, who could have protected them from their pursuers, and soon conveyed them beyond *their* reach. Conducted back into his kingdom by the armies of Austria and Prussia, the King might have expected from the mingled terroure and affection of his subjects, to be easily re-established in triumph, on the throne of his Fathers. The New Constitution might have vanished as a dream. Condign punishment would have overtaken its authors. The French Nation, would have been left at the mercy of the Court, and the foreign troops.

But, Louis the Sixteenth had never been exposed before, to the fatigue of a secret flight for three days. So nearly at the first term of his journey, he seemed to himself to be already out of danger. At Varennes, he would snatch a few moments for rest and refreshment. The indulgence proved fatal to his enterprize. He was pursued by a man who had recognized his  
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person ; seized ; detected in all the ignominious circumstances of concealment and flight ; loaded with a thousand indignities ; and amidst the insolent triumph of the populace, dragged back to Paris.

These events, without altering the views, exasperated the mutual hostility of all parties. Still did the Emigrants flatter themselves, that they might conduct the German Armies, without opposition, to the gates of the capital. The invaders advanced. The northern frontier of France was broken through. Forces sufficiently numerous, or generals in whose abilities, or fidelity to the Constitution, the Patriots might confide, could not be easily mustered. LA FAYETTE, the military hero of the Revolution, having a heart not absolutely dishonest, but not a strong understanding, hesitated between his duty to his Sovereign, and his wishes to continue in co-operation with the reforming party, of which he had lately fancied himself one of the most popular leaders. Attempting, between the fear of the invaders, who still advanced, and of the Patriots, to protect his king ; he was forsaken by his army, and by the Germans, to whom he fled, thrown into a dungeon. DUMOURIER was raised in his stead, to the command of the Constitutional Armies. As the Germans continued to approach nearer, and still nearer, to Paris, the

the French seemed to gather new strength from despair. The invaders were not received as deliverers; which the emigrants had promised them. If the country were not laid waste before them, by its inhabitants; it was, however, not without extreme difficulty, that they could obtain provisions. Defence was to the invaded, victory; to the invaders, delay was defeat. Hunger and sickness were more fatal to Brunswick's forces, than the defiles, the redoubts, the guns, the bayonets of the enemy. Their wary Commander had the wisdom to give up his enterprize, and to retreat, before seeing his army wholly cut off by distress, and the fierce opposition of the invaded people. Equal fears suggested the same artifices to the French and to the German Generals. The Duke of Brunswick persuaded Dumourier, that, for the Prussians at least, their retreat should be followed by the speedy opening of negotiations for a peace with the Government of France. The French Commanders pretended to spare their retiring enemies, from generosity, not, as it was, in truth, through fear and weakness.

While these transactions passed, a mighty change took place in the dispositions and views of the French Patriots. Rage against the King and Queen, the emigrant nobility, and the Combined Powers; exultation over the miscarriage of

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the first enterprizes against their New Constitution ; a persuasion, that the King and Nobles could never be cordially reconciled to their reforms ; and a desire to enjoy the spoils of their exiled fellow-subjects ; urged them impetuously on, to consummate their own ruin, and that of their country. The dissolution of the first National Assembly had removed the authors of the Constitution from the foreground on the stage of public business. Their successors in the SECOND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, discovered inferior abilities, information, and activity. Revolutionary or Patriotic Clubs, under various denominations, had, in the mean time, been instituted, to the number of many thousands, through all France. The great cities ; but especially Paris, the seat of the Legislature and Government ; the centre of information, wealth, and influence ; had begun to usurp a power in the direction of public affairs, which it was far from being the intention of the Constitution to intrust them with. The *virtual government* insensibly fell out of the hands of the King, the Ministry, the Assembly, and the other Constituted Authorities. It was now exercised by mobs at the impulse of the News-writers and the speakers in the Clubs, by the Revolutionary Committees of the Clubs, by the Magistrates and militia of Paris and the other great towns. The Constituted Authorities had  
still

still a seeming existence ; but their energy was entirely destroyed. The sublime, although visionary philosopher, the well-meaning, but misguided patriot, were now hurled, or jostled from the public scene. Force and passion had succeeded to that conspicuous activity and direction which had been lately committed to seeming Reason, Truth, and Virtue.

In this state of the public *force* and *reason*, and of the *interests* and *passions* of the nation in general ; the mob of Paris, were suddenly prompted to insult the King, for having dared to exercise a power which the Constitution had confided to him. His unresisting gentleness served to inflame, instead of mitigating their intemperate ferocity. He had been authorized by the Constitution, to suspend for a time, although not finally to invalidate any acts of the National Assembly. But, in the eyes of the populace and their leaders, it was treason for him who had lately been the sole legislator of the nation, to exercise this power. The smallest opposition of weakness, infuriates strength to cruelty. After resistance has once been made, submission comes too late. The mad pretenders to patriotism, and the smatterers in philosophy, who now prompted the outrages of the Parisian mob, had fancied that a republic was the perfection of human government ; and that to perfect the civil happiness of their country,

country, they must abolish its present Constitution, in so far as it was monarchical, and improve it to the turbulent liberty of democratical republicanism. Not pleased with the imperfect success of their first endeavours to embroil the King with the mob; they urged the populace to a second insurrection. The King, although still protected by an armed force, dared not to employ it against them. He sought refuge, with his family, amidst the National Assembly. His guards, when insolence or actual assault would permit them to forbear no longer, resisted the mob with their arms; but were betrayed, overpowered, and cut in pieces. The crimes of the demagogues were attributed to their monarch. Because his life had been threatened by a mob; because he had sought refuge in the bosom of the National Assembly; because his guards had been slaughtered: He was deposed from his Royal dignity, committed to the confinement of a prisoner, threatened with trial and with death.

I will not struggle to repress the indignation, which, here, with uncontrollable impetuosity, swells my heart. What language can afford terms of reprobation adequate to the guilt and folly of those men, who would reform oppression by insurrection? Who employ murder, calumny, and rapine for the improvement of society? Who,  
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with execrations of tyranny ever on their tongues, commit cruelties at which a Nero would have shuddered? Who perpetrate massacres, that their King may be beheaded for them? Who, to enlighten mankind, substitute the axe and the gibbet, instead of Truth and Reason? Who, invoking Philosophy, smother and mangle, while they pretend to adore her? Who, because the vessel lies not in the best situation in the harbour, turn her adrift to the storm, before which she must inevitably perish? Who sow tares, and fancy that they shall reap wheat? But the first movers were the criminals. Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Mirabeau, Syeyes, Neckar, Condorcet, Bailly, La Fayette, were the dæmons who conjured up the whirlwind. Pethion, Brissot, Roberespierre, all the rest, were but puny fiends impelled in its vortex.

All France were sensible, that the New Constitution had never yet taken effect. They felt their condition to be anarchical. The National Assembly perceived, that, in the midst of Paris, they had nothing of national authority. The state of the war; the virtual deposition of the King; and the grasping usurpation of the demagogues of the mob of Paris, and of its magistrates and militia; suggested the necessity of a dissolution of the Assembly, and of the convocation

tion of a body of representatives, in whom the confidence and authority of the Nation might be more entirely vested.

A NATIONAL CONVENTION was now congregated. France was declared a Republic. The Constitution ceased to have even a nominal existence; and a *provisionary government* was appointed, for the present exigencies. The ministers who had lately acted, at least ostensibly, under the authority of the King, were now made accountable, immediately, to the national convention. But, the grand object of the Parisian rabble, and their demagogues, to whose influence the Convention also was subject, was, to gratify republican pride by the trial and execution of their King. Some remains of humanity in their temper, and a regard to legislative and judiciary decorum, might make the philosophical republicans willing to spare the life of Louis, although they wished to acknowledge him no longer for their monarch. But their refinements, in sentiment and principles, were ill suited to the gross apprehension, and rugged passions of the vulgar whom they had roused into action. Of all their philosophy, nothing but what was wild and ferocious, was fit to mingle with the fury of the Revolutionary Committees and the Populace. A different race, men of strong lungs, violent passions, and  
ill-informed,

ill-informed, yet vigorous understandings ; plebeians in all their sentiments, their knowledge, and their habits of life ; had, by the gradual concession of the philosophers themselves, risen to act the foremost parts on the political stage. The Philosophers were but flutes ; these men were trumpets. A Roland, a Brissot, and a Pethion, found it to be now too late to save from the block, the Prince whom they themselves had first vilified in the eyes of the people, and then deposed. The mob, the clubs, the news-writers, and the city of Paris, would not, at once, surrender, even to the Convention, that authority which they had been permitted to seize. In spite of the leaders of the party who had hurled Louis the Sixteenth from the throne, he was brought to die by the hands of the executioner. His behaviour at the mock-trial to which he was subjected, and on the scaffold, added the praise of fortitude and intelligence to the gentleness and benevolent intentions by which he had ever been distinguished.

His trial was a mock one ; the sentence that condemned him to death, was unjust ; *because*, both the ancient Government and the New Constitution, under which alone he had acted, held his person to be inviolable,—and his actions to be subject to no *direct* responsibility or controul ; *because*, imperfect evidence was accepted against him,

him, and by his prosecutors and judges, there was much kept back, of the fair evidence which might have been produced on his behalf; *because* many of his judges had shewn themselves to have determined upon his death, at the very opening of his trial. His queen, and his faithful and virtuous sister were soon to undergo the same fate.

The French armies, during this time, pursued the invaders into their own territories. On the North, and on the South, they over-ran the dominions of the Princes who were hostile to them; besieged, or took possession of their strong towns; routed their armies; and seduced their subjects from their allegiance. On the confines of Germany, Custine pursued the Prussians beyond the Rhine. Savoy was already numbered among the departments of France. Dumourier, breaking the remains of the Austrian Army, at the battle of Jemappe, forced his way to the capital of Flanders. The inhabitants of the Netherlands, already discontent under the Austrian sway, and inclined to defection, were easily persuaded to receive the French, with open arms. The defeated Austrians could no longer defend or overawe them. The French presented themselves as generous deliverers, who courted no advantages to themselves, but sought only to rescue their neighbours from bondage.

Unable

Unable to make resistance ; seduced by hollow promises, or insincere pretences ; and carried away by the same enthusiasm by which the French were transported ; the Belgians would have adopted, with one accord, the name of *Frenchmen*, and would have embraced, without reluctance, the republicanism of France ; had it not been for the atheism and democracy which were involved in it. Dumourier pursued his triumphant career to the farther extremities of Flanders. If he had not been thwarted and chagrined in consequence of an opposition between his personal ambition, and the intrigues of the Members of the French ministry, the Convention, and the other Generals of the Republican armies ; it is probable that he might have urged on his conquests, before closing the campaign, to the northern side of the Rhine ; and might have secured Flanders, inaccessibly, against any future irruption of the Austrians.

The Combined Powers, thus worsted in every quarter, ceased from all but defensive operations ; till the return of spring should enable them to open another campaign, with better hopes. Much of their late ill fortune was attributed to mistaken measures, into which they had been misled by the fond hopes and impassioned resentment of the Emigrants ; and these men were, therefore, to be excluded from any leading concern in their fu-



ture operations. To recruit the exhausted strength and spirits of the poor remains of their former armies ; to levy new troops ; to provide money, provisions, ammunition, and artillery ; to extend, and knit closer, their Alliances ; to concert a skilful system of future operations ; and to combine together, such an immense and well organised force, as it might be impossible for the French to oppose effectually through a second campaign ; were the objects to which the Austrian and Prussian Rulers now turned their most anxious and active cares.

Of all the New Alliances which they had to court, that of BRITAIN was, by far, the most important. From the first, their designs against the French Constitution had been favoured by the British Government : but the Nation had not yet decided. Enlightened above all other nations ; they never enter blindly into the views of their rulers. They had long beheld, with mingled pity and contempt, the imperfections in the governments of the other States of Europe : and now rejoiced to see the inhabitants of one extensive kingdom, emancipated out of what *they* regarded as servitude, and exalted to a condition of freedom, nearly similar to *their* own. Nothing but a full conviction, that *the French Revolution*, in its progress, *might threaten to overturn the Established Balance of Power in Europe*, would have

have induced them to take an offensive part against it, while a king was retained, although but nominally, in its scheme of Government. Nay, the French Nation might have repulsed their first invaders, and might have assumed the name and forms of a Republic, without provoking the hostility of Britain; if they had discovered moderation and temperance of spirit in their successes; or had afforded any fair prospect to their neighbours, that they might soon be disposed to forego the turbulence of incessant revolution, for the benefits of permanent order. But, when it appeared, that this Revolution, without ameliorating the condition of any order, was going on to effect the ruin of all France, from the murdered king, and the exiled Princes, to the meanest of the peasantry; that the same conflagration was about to be mischievously kindled by the same Agents, throughout all other countries; and that, if suffered to gather strength, and diffuse itself, it was likely to be extinguished, only in the general destruction of civilized life; after arresting the career of human improvement, and again plunging Europe into its ancient barbarism: The British Nation then concurred, with unusual unanimity, not merely to second the compassionate wishes of their Sovereign, and the measures of policy into which his ministry desired to lead them; but even

ven to urge on their government to an instant declaration of war against the French Reformers, and an open co-operation with the Combined Powers who were already confederated against them. None were dissentient from the general voice; except some bad men who hung loose on society, and who had hoped to find their account in the mischief, if the Nation should have slumbered, secure, till the miseries of France had overtaken Britain; a few men of worth, whose personal interests stood in opposition to those of the ministry; a few by whom the abilities and integrity of the ministers were regarded with distrust, either reasonable or vain; and a scanty herd of others who wanted intelligence to discern for themselves, but echoed the cry of the discontented, without knowing well what it meant.

By this time, the French Reformers were, aware that the spirit and principles which they had displayed in interior government, and in opposing external enemies, could not fail to draw upon them, against another campaign, the general hostility of Europe. Their first measures, upon this, were directed to frighten, to divide, to anticipate. Their frantic bravadoes were heard with contempt. Little effect was produced by their endeavours to raise the poor of other nations in arms against the rich. But they

they soon proceeded to brave the power and resentment of the British nation, by an attack upon rights which were secured to the Dutch under the guarantee of a Defensive Alliance with Britain. Their next effort was, to make themselves masters, by a sudden enterprize, of the wealth and naval force of Holland; ere its Allies should have determined to hasten to its aid.

This enterprize, the project of Dumourier, was neither ill-concerted, nor unskilfully conducted. In spite of any defence that could be made by the Dutch, aided by British valour; it might have been crowned with compleat success; had not the French line of defence on the side of Germany, been too much weakened by the want of the forces which Dumourier withdrew from it, for the invasion of Holland. The Austrians who had by this time, again assembled a mighty force, saw and seized the occasion. The French forces were overpowered and routed near Liege, with terrible slaughter. The Belgians already weary of the Gallic yoke, received their ancient masters with joy and gratulation. Dumourier was compelled to relinquish his enterprize against Holland. He returned to meet defeat in Flanders. Nerwinde was fatal to the French, as Jemappe had been to the Austrians. Despairing, after this, of the fortune of the Republic; sure of meeting an ignominious

ignominious death, as the punishment of the misconduct which would infallibly be imputed to him by the Leaders in the Convention, if he should now put himself within their power ; and willing even amidst miscarriage and defeat, to act an ambitious part, which, it should seem that, so far as his personal aggrandizement was concerned, he had before designed : Dumourier suddenly declared against the Revolutionary government of France ; joined the counsels of the Austrians ; and endeavoured to persuade his army to march to Paris, in concert with the Germans, in order to overthrow the power of the Convention, and to restore the New Constitution, in which the nominal authority of a King had been retained.

But, Dumourier was not more successful with his army, than La Fayette, whom he had supplanted. The emissaries of the Convention prevailed. Instead of armies, strong towns, and a continued career of victories, till the Bourbons should be re-established on the throne of France ; Dumourier could bring from among those many thousands which he had once led on to victory, none but a small band of deserters ; while he himself, and his most obnoxious adherents, with difficulty, escaped alive to the Austrian camp. A traitor is detested, even  
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when his treason is crowned with full success. Dumourier, unfortunate in his treachery, was, from that instant, abandoned by all, and could scarcely obtain any where, an obscure place of refuge, in which he might hide his disappointment and disgrace.

Britain, Spain, and Holland had now joined the Combined Powers. The inhabitants of the Netherlands had again submitted to the Austrian sway. The frontier towns protecting France on the side of Flanders, could not resist the joint force of the British and German arms. Within France, parties of Royalists, impatient to restore the ancient forms of the monarchy; of Constitutionalists, champions of that reformed monarchical Constitution which the republicans had lately abolished; of Federalists, who desired to see France broken down into a number of distinct states which should be independent of one another, but confederated for the purposes of general policy, offence, and defence; weakened the hands of the Conventional Government; and by the general dissension and confusion which they excited, appeared to threaten the speedy ruin of the regicides and of republicanism. Toulon, its harbour, and shipping were surrendered to the British. All the great towns upon the coast seemed as, if shortly to imitate its example, or at least, to follow its fate. The French Navy were very generally

nerally disaffected to the Revolutionary Government, and warmly devoted to the ancient monarchy. Within, France was wasted by the mutual opposition of its Royalist and Revolutionary armies. Without, it was successfully assailed by the Allies. The British Navy rode triumphant on the seas; destroying its ships of war; capturing its merchant-men; leaving it, scarcely the resource of the traffic of neutral nations, to furnish provisions, and the necessaries for war. The sale of the estates of the Church and of the emigrants could no longer supply the public expenses. It became necessary to rifle the Churches of their plate and ornaments, and to accuse, condemn, and assassinate the rich, that their wealth might be forfeited to the state. Every thing seemed to conspire for the immediate overthrow of French Republicanism, for the triumph of the Allies, for the restoration of the Bourbons, for the dismemberment of France.

Who shall measure the strength, or count the resources of despair? Of twenty-five millions, composing the whole population of France, far the greater number shared the guilt of the Revolutionary Committees, and the spoils of their murdered or exiled fellow-countrymen. These saw no alternative between the desperate support of republicanism, and the relentless revenge denounced against them by the Allies and the Emi-

grants. It was not yet necessary, that the weight of the war should fall chiefly upon *them*. The suspected, whom timidity held neutral ; the rich, whose insecurity could not but render them unfriendly to the reigning anarchy ; they who seemed to be connected by any ties, however slight, with the exiled nobles, the fallen church, or the family of the murdered King ; were stripped of their property, buried in dungeons, sacrificed on the scaffold, or driven into the gap of slaughter on the field of battle. As yet, the *true Revolutionists* had only to watch those victims of their jealousy or injustice ; to seize from time to time, their persons and property ; to imprison or execute such as were destined to confinement or public execution ; to drag to the armies those who were to be opposed to foreign enemies ; and there to restrain them under subordination, till they could be urged upon the cannon's mouths of the invaders. As yet, therefore, *their* passions and interests were gratified ; while the force of their exertions was invigorated to all the gigantic energy of despair ; by the events of the war,—still more when these were unfortunate, than when they were successful.

The Allies, meanwhile, were flushed by success to imprudence. They held out threats of vengeance against all who should not instantly declare for the restoration of the ancient mo-



narchy in all its despotism. They talked of dismembering the French Empire ; that its power might henceforth be less formidable in the political system of Europe. They acted not with that union of hearts, that concentration of force, that consistency of plans, which alone could have ensured to them, the fullest success in the campaign. Their generals were often rash or ill-informed. The minds of their ministers were too narrow, too indolent, too feeble, to embrace and to pursue, at once with the steadiness of wisdom and the energy of passion, any grand system of military policy and vigilance.

In these circumstances, the invasion was again defeated. Thousands upon thousands, rushed to oppose the forces of the Allies, in all quarters. On the field of battle, the ranks of the French seemed still to multiply, to thicken, to gather new impetuosity, as they were hewed down by the invaders. The British forces were repulsed from before Dunkirk. Toulon, after the destruction of its shipping, was evacuated by the British, retaken by the French Republicans, and reduced to ruins. At Maubeuge, the Germans were overpowered with terrible slaughter, and again driven back. Want of activity in the equipment, of due concert in designs, or of sufficient frequency and fidelity in mutual communications, prevented a British force sent out  
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under Lord Moira, from landing on the French coast, to aid the Insurgent Royalists, till it was too late to hope for a successful prosecution of the enterprise. The Insurgents overpowered by numbers, as well as the Allies, could no longer be strengthened by any small succour, so as to make head successfully against the Revolutionists. And yet, the fate of Lyons, and the other seats of Anti-Revolutionism, while it struck terror into the hearts of those who had not yet risen against the Republic, new-strung the souls of those who still remained in arms against it, with rage more desperate, more furious, more unconquerable, than that of the Republicans themselves. At last, Democracy saw itself once more triumphant in all quarters; and, with the British Nation among the number of their enemies; the Republicans of France were again the pursuers, the invaders, the conquerors.

While these things passed, a succession of the most frightful scenes of anarchy, intrigue, contention, and massacre, were exhibited at Paris; the grand theatre of the Conventional Government. In a state without laws, every smatterer in civil policy, was eager to propose his own schemes of legislation. Among a people wanting supreme rulers, every daring assassin, every subtle intriguer, every clamorous haranguer, aspired to share, or to usurp, alone, the sovereign power.

power. The struggle of the Republican Leaders, was, not only to exterminate the internal, and to repulse the foreign enemies of the Republic; but to gratify, each his own avarice, ambition, or dæmon-lust of praise, to the ruin of his co-adjutors. Did the populace exult over the news of recent victory? their ferocity was exasperated, with the ebullition of their joy; and they hurried impetuously to massacre. Were they alarmed by the news of defeat? They relieved their feelings, by the savage sacrifice of those whom the caprice of the moment, made obnoxious to them. Their demagogues saw well the necessity of holding them in one continual intoxication of rage. Still as one party in the Convention and the Clubs, triumphed over another; the victorious party was again divided into new factions; and the round of impeachments, trials, imprisonments, executions, was renewed. Royalists, Constitutionals, Federalists, were mingled together in the dungeons, and on the scaffolds. A word of denunciation from the Committees, a nod from a popular demagogue, brought the most sincere republicans to the same end, upon the same pretences.

Of those who, in this series of horrors, ended their lives on the scaffold, few died more unlamented than PHILIP OF ORLEANS, the lineal representative

representative of the brother of Louis the Fourteenth. Ambitious, although destitute of all those generous energies of mind, which are requisite to command success to fair ambition; hostile to his sovereign, upon petty causes of personal enmity; mindful that the princes of the blood-royal, had often been in France, the leaders of a faction formidable to the Royal Power; possessed of immense wealth; stimulated, as it should seem, by some fiend still whispering to his soul, *so near to the throne, must thou never mount it?* singularly fitted by his opulence, his weak ignorance, and unequalled profligacy of heart, to be a mere tool of mischief: *The Duke of Orleans* had been fastened upon, in the very commencement of the Revolution, as an instrument happily adapted to serve the purposes of the Reformers, in convulsing and overturning the monarchy. In its progress, one party after another, as they rose successively into credit; the Constitutionalists, the Brissotines, Robespierre, and his adherents; still availed themselves of the wealth and wickedness of Orleans; till they had destroyed their King. Orleans was no farther necessary to the machinations of the reigning party; his fortune was exhausted; he might expect, that they should now perform their promises, and reward his services, with the Crown;

Crown ; his royal blood made his wickedness so odious, that it could be no longer of use to them. They delivered him up to the executioners. He died with the fullen fortitude of a convict, who has resolved not to hang his head, and whine under the gallows.

The faction of BRISOT and the deputies from GIRONDE, soon followed the fate of their King, whose life, after having abused him, they had struggled to save. That they had not voted for his death ; that they strove to restrain the excesses of the mob ; that they wished to emancipate the Convention from the tyranny of the city of Paris, and the Constituted Authorities from the despotism of the Revolutionary Committees ; that they proposed to divide the extensive empire of France into a number of separate but confederated Republics, similar to the states of America ; that the interests of *their* personal ambition were irreconcilably opposite to those of Roberfpierre and his adherents ; *these were their crimes*. They were bad men. And, if corporal or capital punishment can ever be justly inflicted on guilt which contaminates the mind, and has its origin in the errors of reason ; they deserved their fate. But, they were the least wicked, and the most accomplished among the Republican leaders. After their fall, it was the combined spirit of the sow, the monkey,

key, the fox, the hyæna, the tyger, and the wolf, that reigned in France; without any mixture of the lion, the elephant, the dog, or the horse.

The leaders of the JACOBIN Club, and the other Clubs in correspondence with it; who in consequence of their influence in the Clubs, were enabled to direct the proceedings of the Convention; had no sooner overthrown the Brissotines, than they turned their rage against one another. The contest was between DANTON and ROBERSPIERRE. But Danton loved money, pleasure, and splendour, as well as power; Roberespierre, power alone. Subject to be assailed upon so many points, the former soon fell. HEBERT and DESMOULINS again excited the fear of his conqueror. They too were cut off.

The campaign of 1793, had in the mean time, passed, without the return of success to the side of the Allied Armies. But, the French Navy was in a miserable condition. Their trade was annihilated. Their Colonies were become the conquests of the British. As another year advanced, a fleet in the equipment of which they had made their last naval effort, was destroyed by a British fleet inferior in strength. They were deprived of almost all external resources. All their West Indian possessions had been subdued, or had revolted. Corsica had made itself

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an appendage to the British Crown.—Things were nearly in this state when Count Montgailard wrote, from personal knowledge, the following account of France in May last.

ADVERTISEMENT.

# ADVERTISEMENT,

BY

COUNT MONTGAILLARD.

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**I** RETURNED into France after the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, with the purpose of saving my fortune, if possible, for the support of my wife and children, who had long been emigrants. Since that time I have lived nearly eighteen months together in Paris.

Nothing but a desire to serve my King and Country, could have induced me to encounter the difficulties which I had to surmount, before I could gain access to those profligate men, by whom the rights of both are at present usurped. I have observed the manners and character of the usurpers ; and have acquainted myself with their projects, and with the means which they have for the execution of them. I write without motives of personal interest or of fear.

I escaped the dangers to which I was exposed, by affecting a frivolity and dissipation of man-

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ners, sufficient to elude suspicion. I left France, after studying the Revolution, in the midst of all its horrors.

The dangers to which I have been exposed, and the motives upon which I hazarded them—may well place me above the suspicions of malignity. My conscience bears witness to the blameless rectitude of my intentions. In the purity of my views I find my reward.

The papers of the day, and light, bad men may speak of me as they shall think good. I tell the truth. I make public, facts and observations of importance to the general welfare. I am equally ready to give an account of my whole life, when that account shall be demanded by others than base impostors.

June 15. 1794.

STATE

# STATE OF FRANCE,

IN THE

MONTH OF MAY, 1794.

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THE *National Convention* possess not the confidence or the esteem of the French people. Yet the nation may shortly give their sanction to whatever system of civil order the Convention shall present for their approbation. That terroure with which they have been long regarded, will be mellowed into respect; if they shall continue their resistance through the present year, and again repulse the Allies from the confines of France. This Assembly gather new strength every day. Their assassinations have hitherto appeared to be but necessary severities. Their government will have acquired sufficient stability, when the executioners shall cease to be employed. Perhaps the time is not far distant, when

when public festivities shall be gladly celebrated in those scenes which are now continually polluted by public murders.

The principles and measures of the Committee of Public Safety, are not approved by the majority of the Convention. A third of this Assembly, are secretly adherents of Royalty. A tenth part desire a Republic, or rather, impunity and equality under Roman names. Many dread alike their dictators, and the invaders. They tremble under the tyranny of the Committee of Public Safety, and detest the individuals of whom it is composed. But, this abhorred Committee has hitherto protected them from the vengeance of Europe. They would escape from it; they regard it with doubt and terror; yet they serve it with abject submission.

About two hundred members only—assemble in the *Sessions* of the Convention (1.) They no longer deliberate upon national affairs: but are employed simply in settling the forms of the business of the police, of the revenue, of the general administration: their most dignified function, is, to announce the nomination of their President and Secretaries. They eagerly sanction such laws and resolutions as are presented to them by the Committee of Public Safety. They dare propose none without the consent of that committee. Strangers to the most important

tant projects, and to the most decisive resolutions; they retain the name, but have lost the power of the National Representation.

The *Committee of Public Safety*, concentrating within itself the power, the activity, and the rights of sovereignty, is subject to Robespierre. Barrere, and St Juste, are rather his secretaries than his colleagues. They share his dangers, without sharing his authority. They are exposed to some dangers which threaten them alone, and which it is not probable, that they will escape. Members themselves, of that order on which they exercise a tyranny, the most refined in its artifices of cruelty; they, with other seventy-four members of the Convention, have hitherto escaped the proscription, fulminated by some late decrees against the unfortunate remains of the Nobility who were still at Paris. But, circumstances are fast closing round them, which will render even their baseness and perfidy, instruments of their ruin. The other eight members of the Committee of Public Safety, toil in the business, but direct it not. They are tyrants under Robespierre, and his co-adjutors in the oppression of France; but tremble themselves before him.

The *Committee of General Security* receive and execute his orders. This Committee take no concern in the government, farther than in conducting

ducting those measures which are continually necessary for the internal security of the Convention, and the Republic. They can excite the fears of none but the accomplices, or the victims of their guilt, who are within France. They are strangers to the affairs which agitate Europe. They regulate the general police of the Empire, watch the discontented, prosecute the rich and the recluse, receive and encourage accusations, and particularly, put those under arrest, against whom the order for arrest is issued by the Committee of Public Safety.

That unwearied vigilance of the most gloomy tyranny, called the *General Police*, acts with undistinguishing oppression against every class, and every individual. The members of the Convention are more exposed to it than others. No step they take, remains unknown. Their actions, and their words, are all watched by some secret spy, by whom they are continually haunted. The pretence of conspiracy against the people, is the constant excuse for all acts of violence, and for those inquisitorial visitations of private families, by which town and country are incessantly harraffed. No person, whether deputy, *administrator*, agent, or private citizen, is sure of repose for a single night undisturbed by the "vampires" of oppression, or sees the return of darkness without terrour. Nor is there a cot-  
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tage in all France, in which even hunger and nakedness are not in dread of accusation, or requisition. Human genius never went so far before, in the art of terrifying the imagination, and keeping up its wild alarm.

Difficulties almost insuperable, embarrass any person who attempts to *travel* quietly out of one interior district into another. Whoever absents himself, for however short a time, from the ordinary place of his abode, finds himself pursued and encompassed at every step, by the instruments and emissaries of tyranny. No person can, without risking the loss of life and property, remove from place to place; unless under the protection of formal orders, which it is hardly possible to obtain; and which are changed and renewed with a capricious frequency. All the social relations are virtually dissolved; all the amiable affections eradicated. That tyranny which pervades every corner of the Empire, has produced universally, a callous or misanthropic selfishness, excluding from every breast, every other sentiment. The most intimate friend, the dearest relation, the most highly esteemed benefactor, are forgotten, betrayed, abandoned, upon the slightest suspicion, calling in question their civism, or threatening their personal safety. The unfortunate object of accusation, has judges assigned him, but no defenders. It is as dangerous

ous to be the friend of a deputy or public officer, when he is accused, as to be at other times his enemy.

The *thirty Commissions or Committees* of the Convention, among which the whole business of that Assembly is distributed out, have, however, no share in the executive government. They are never acquainted with the origin of the grand measures, external or internal. These are planned and directed by the Committee of Public Safety alone. But, in their execution, all concur with the most alert and energetic activity.

The *Committee for Military Affairs*, at the head of which are Carnot, La Fitte, d'Anissi, and some others, whose abilities have been gained to abet the cause of villainy and guilt,—form plans of attack and defence, concert the system of operations, and accommodate the arrangements of tactics to the views of the Revolution. *Where* were deposited the memoirs and other valuable monuments of the heroism, the generous loyalty, and the enlightened abilities of those great captains, ministers, and statesmen, who have adorned the French monarchy; *there* wickedness now racks invention, for means to consummate its irretrievable ruin.

The *Committee upon the Revenue*, busied with unremitting industry, in artifices to deceive the  
 nation

nation concerning the ruinous condition to which the public fortune is reduced; dig deeper, every day, the gulph in which it is swallowed up. False calculations, dishonest resources, extravagant results, are with bold effrontery presented to this Committee by CAMBON, its leading member, and are adopted without examination. His unskilfulness in a matter of such importance, augments and confirms the blind folly of the people. To a species of paper-money which consumes all other property, he gives a current value, which necessity and terrour maintain to it.

Through all the departments of public business, every thing proceeds in conformity to the orders of the Committee of Public Safety.

Civil laws are framed, highways constructed, canals cut, as it were by one common effort (2.) The arts and sciences are restored, to give dignity and splendour to guilt. Workshops and manufactories of the instruments of the military art, are established in all quarters for its defence. The most copious resources are lavishly provided. Public schools are assiduously instituted; and the French language is taught, in its purity, from the foot of the Pyrenees to the farthest wilds of lower Brittany. In the same *session* will sometimes be passed, thirty decrees upon objects the most widely different from one another. Millions are wasted in carrying such

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decrees



decrees into execution ; and scaffolds reared to enforce and maintain them. In a word, the Committees may be considered as so many executive offices ; the National Convention as a Court for registration ; the Committee of Public Safety, as ROBESPIERRE's Privy Council.

And who is this man, whom a wonderful ascendancy of character, and a combination of circumstances not less extraordinary, have suddenly elevated to sovereign power ; conducting him safe over the rocks and quicksands of a revolution, amidst which its authors and their accomplices have been dashed in pieces, or swallowed up ?

Nature seemed to have destined him for low practice at the bar ; having endowed him with the mean cunning and duplicity necessary to success in that field. *My utmost wish*, said he, in the year 1784, *would be to obtain the office of Attorney-general in the parliament of Paris ; I should then make the world talk of me !* He saw in that employment, means to gratify the burning thirst for reputation, by which he has, at different times, confessed himself to be inflamed. From this we may guess at his motives for aspiring to become a member of the States-general.

Yet, in that Assembly he was distinguished only as an enthusiast, destitute of imagination. At its dissolution, his abilities despised, his person

son unnoticed, he was named to a place in one of the Criminal Courts. This place he resigned, without having entered upon its duties, which brought his civism into temporary disrepute.

He always ranked among the party of the Jacobins, and had the Republic constantly on his tongue, although never in his heart. In truth, till the interests of the *monarchy* were entirely ruined at Paris by the events of the *Tenth of August*, he was still its adherent. He had little concern in the transactions of that accursed day which Manuel, Pethion, and Kerfaint, grasping at the ministry, contrived and brought about, for the final abasement of the Royal Authority. At that decisive crisis, Robespierre disappeared. He has been often reproached for the *cowardly prudence* with which he hid himself from its dangers. Nor does he appear to have had any great share in the massacres of the 2d of September. In July 1792, he published: *Representative government, and the forms of monarchy, are the only constitutional arrangements proper for an empire so extensive and ancient as France*. In the month of September following, he opposed not the faction of Brissot, in the passing of the decree moved by Syeyes, by which France was declared a Republic. An inconsistency so glaring, betrays the true principle of his conduct.

It

It was not till after the retreat of the Combined armies that Roberspierre began to discover his ambitious purposes ; nor perhaps, had he, before that time, conceived them. He has never lost sight of them since. The assassination of his *King* appeared necessary to clear the way for his ambition ; and he was the chief instigator to that crime. Discerning then the strength of his opponents, he drove the Brissotines to appeal to the people ; by which he obtained a terrible handle against them, and was enabled to inflame the Jacobins to pursue them to destruction. Availing himself dexterously of circumstances as they varied, and of the errors of his adversaries, as they committed them, and watching and accommodating himself to the revolution, through all its fluctuations, he still selected his partizans and defenders from among the orators of the Jacobin club.

Roberspierre's countenance is heavy and cadaverous ; his complexion, pale ; his eyes, bleared and near-sighted ; his voice, scarcely audible. He possesses none of those exterior advantages which win and captivate the multitude. But, he is almost without passions ; or at least conceals, with the most impenetrable artifice, such of his passions as might otherwise endanger his popularity and success. His apparently incorruptible integrity maintained his influence among  
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the people, amidst the attacks of the Brissotines and the Common Council of Paris. Robespierre seemingly confining himself to his duties as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and of the Jacobin Club, appears to be the plainest and the most unassuming of men. The modesty which he continues to display in the midst of triumph, the frugal plainness of his dress, his simple and retired style of life—are what has so long fixed the caprice of popularity in his favour. He still lives as he did in 1790, without change of habits or manners. Continuing still to encourage the excesses and outrages of the populace, by whom he was supported; speaking but seldom, and then pointedly to the purpose; still pursuing the errors of his adversaries, through all the events of the war, foreign and intestine; he rose suddenly to the direction of the Revolution, when the Brissotines durst proceed no farther. When he saw them raise, with trembling hands, the scaffolds by which they hoped to confirm their power, he then opposed to their artifices and intrigues, all the energy and the daring crimes of the Jacobins. He brought about the events of the 31st of May, and the 1st and 2d of June 1793, and by these made himself master of the Convention and of Paris (3.)

At an early period in their career, he connected himself with that bloody desperadoe, MARAT, whose

whose character and principles had, by their impetuous atrocity, the most powerful influence upon the populace, whom he incessantly instigated to pillage and massacre. Robespierre declared himself the friend of this man, who was equally dangerous and ignorant. When the Brissotines combined all their strength to carry him before the Revolutionary Tribunal, it was at the persuasion of Robespierre that he ventured to leave the subterraneous cell (4.) in which he had concealed himself, and to take his seat again in the hall of the Convention. The triumph of Marat's re-appearance in that Assembly was the work of Robespierre. But while he thus defended and exalted his partner in guilt and popularity, he at that very time meditated his ruin.

It is generally believed that Robespierre made an attempt to poison Marat (5.) By destroying him in the full tide of his popularity, Robespierre hoped to transfer that popularity to himself, and at the same time to direct public opinion against a faction whose leaders he durst not yet call before the criminal Courts. He afterwards made this very faction his instruments in pushing home the dagger to Marat's heart ; by which means his own guilty machination remained unknown, and they were at last conducted to the scaffold (6.)

After

After writing in conjunction with Hebert upon Atheism ; after aiding Gobet to efface every vestige of Catholicism (7.) ; after he had with Camillus Desmoulins presented to the public a prospect of clemency ; Roberspierre brought Desmoulins, Gobet, and Hebert to the block. He wished to reserve to himself alone the power of giving France a new religion, and of restoring peace to his country, after he should have subjected it to his own despotic sway.

Thus has he overturned every thing like order, that the nation, as he shall ostentatiously restore their rights one by one, may obey him out of gratitude.

DANTON was long the object of his anxious jealousy. This man also aspired to sovereign power. An high character, and courage to dare every danger, were the advantages on which his pretensions to the dictatorship were founded. Roberspierre dazzled him with the prospect of fortune in Belgium (8.) ; hoping that her seductive favours might soon ensnare him into acts for which he might one day be accused. He laboured with ceaseless industry, till he had effected the ruin of this formidable rival. Without discontinuing the attentions and professions of seeming friendship ; and even while he was inviting him to a seat in the Committee of Public Safety, he issued from this Committee the order

order for the arrest of Danton, the act of his impeachment, the sentence by which he was doomed to death. Within the space of nine days, this potent enemy was cut off from before him.

Of no extraordinary natural genius, destitute of those abilities which are alone, equal to introduce, and to conduct revolutions, or to bring them to a termination ; Roberſpierre is extremely unfit for the elevated and dangerous place to which he aspires. But, he is at present, powerful in the general terrour with which he is regarded, and in the ruin or corruption of all the enemies with whom he has had to contend. Pride and self-love are his ruling passions ; his resentments are bitter and inextinguishable. His party is confined to his own brain, guided and informed, however, by that of the Abbè SYEYES, the most mischievous of villains. Ever fearful and suspicious ; without friends, as without social affections ; Roberſpierre still sacrifices on every side, those by whom he has been served, and those whose discernment he dreads. The Abbè Syeyes himself, whom he intends for the patriarch of his new religion, will assuredly fall, when he shall either cease to be useful, or begin to appear dangerous to him. The profligate LA CLOS, who has been for six months in confinement, fancies that he shall at length,

have earned his liberty, by drawing up harangues for the demagogue. GREGOIRE serves him with unwearied zeal and assiduity.

The object to which Robespierre aspires, is sovereign power ; but he dares not yet shew the most distant inclination to invest himself with the name or forms. However, terrour finds each day, new arms in the sounds of his voice. He is absolute master of the French Empire ; and more powerful than Cromwell was, when he dissolved the long Parliament. The Convention, instead of sharing or endangering his power,—add to it, by the sanction of the people, and their own terrified submission. The powers of the Empire are so wholly and exclusively in his hands, that it will be impossible for opinion to ravish them from him, without a violent struggle. He goes about, without guards, or pomp of any sort. The provision of subsistence for the people, gives him none of those anxieties, which it is generally supposed to do. Plenty, and a revolutionary want of discipline constitute the strength of the armies ; murders, restraint, and the privation of all but mere necessities—maintain the slavery of the interior provinces of the state. The palaces and temples are his arsenals ; his fellow-citizens are his soldiers ; nor is the moment distant, when these *must be* either his subjects or his judges.



I proceed to speak of his accomplices. **BARRERE**, eminent only by the base versatility and compliances with which he has always made himself the tool of the predominant faction; a mere college pedant; a wretched poet; a dull and babbling pleader, undistinguished at the bar; the endless reporter, and lying fabricator of defeats and victories, festivals and laws:—**Barrere**, thus mean, ridiculous, and insignificant, is unworthy of detaining our attention upon either his person, his fortune, or his crimes. **ST JUST**, who is suspected of a wish to form a party for himself, possesses genius and information, but with these, a dark and savage heart. **Affassination and bloodshed are to BILLAUD-VARENNE**s, the very breath of life. **COUTHON**, not less ferocious than he, is reduced by debauchery to the brink of the grave, and has strength remaining, only to contrive, and prompt to murders (9). In **COLLOT D'HERBOIS**, guilt appears in all its odiousness, with every thing to excite abhorrence, but nothing to command terror.

I know assuredly, by information artfully drawn from the mouths of the very persons of whom I speak, that the greatest enemies of the Committee of Public Safety, are the members of the Convention. But, they are too closely haunted by the vigilance of tyranny; they are  
too

too well acquainted with its powers,—to attempt the creation of a faction or party against it. They will rather seek security, each to himself, by denouncing others; for his own individual existence has become to every man the sole object of care or fear. They are permitted to live, because they submit to be instruments of the sovereignty, without partaking in it. They persist in filling up the measure of their crimes, because they are sure of being dragged to the scaffold, whenever they shall be accused of repentance, of pity for misfortune, or of horror at assassination. Crimes alone preserve their lives, and keep futurity at a distance.

They rejoice to escape from the bloody stage, on which the murder of their colleagues, continually reminds the survivors, how precarious the tenure of their own lives. Invested with powers unlimited, they go to spread among the provinces, the terrors by which they are themselves ever pursued. Regard to personal safety; the necessity under which they find themselves of gratifying the revolutionary societies; the need they all have for the stay of popularity, to prolong their lives,—urge these *Commisseries* to acts of vexatious tyranny and oppression, unexampled in the annals of the world.

At this price, are their vices and consequent prodigality excused by the Committee of Public Safety

Safety (10.) Their progress is every where marked, no less by the most wanton luxury, than by bloodshed and oppression. Corruption precedes their career ; and the constituted authorities await in silence, their sentences of proscription and death. At the orders of the Committees, those authorities are created or dissolved. But, the tyrants are soon recalled by the Committee of Public Safety ; impeached, or defamed : condemned for obedience to orders which they received from it, or for good deeds unjustly imputed to them : Having acted the *Proconsul* in the departments, they return to tremble before the Committees, and to sit mute in the Convention.

Instead of the *six Ministers*, *twelve Commissions* have been appointed ; and their members chosen by the Committee of Public Safety. The *Revolutionary Tribunal* has long obeyed implicitly the orders of this Committee. The *Administrative Authority* in the departments, depends immediately on the Convention. But, the departments, districts, and municipalities, possess only that local and limited influence which is to be derived from the levying of the taxes, the distribution of supplies, the national sales, and the regulation of internal intercourse.

The *Popular Societies* still retain the general power of vigilant inspection and censure, throughout

out the Republic. They are under the protection and controul of the Committee of General Security. But the *Revolutionary Committees* of those societies, upon which their powers have, in reality devolved, and by which these powers are exercised against the *Administrative Bodies*, and against the societies themselves,—are in direct and immediate correspondence with the Committee of Public Safety; and act, every where, with blind submission, as its Agents. By *their* agency, has the supreme authority been concentrated in its hands. Soon must they themselves resign their influence at its feet. The plan for subjecting the nation to *Ten Tyrants*, themselves subservient to *one*, has been laid, and conducted nearly to its accomplishment, with a degree of wisdom and energy, which leave hardly any possibility of its failure.

The Committee of Public Safety, are themselves alarmed at the multitude of the agents whom they have been obliged to employ through all France. They see the necessity for reducing,—as soon as the necessities of external war shall permit,—those *twenty thousand revolutionary committees*, at present the necessary instruments of general destruction, and the surest aids of tyranny;—to seven or eight hundred despotic powers,—a number, at this time sufficient to answer for the obedience of all the cities, and  
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all the districts. The Committee are to withdraw into their own hands, all those portions of their power and guilt, which they were obliged to distribute out to others, with extreme profusion. Under the authority of the Rights of Man, they will restore that regularity and subordination which they employed the Rights of Man to subvert.

The *Public Force* will second these measures in the departments. The public force, or *militia* of Paris, consisting of about an hundred and thirty-six thousand men, one half of whom are regularly and compleatly armed,—are, however, wearied out by endless service. Amidst the toil of their daily labours, they pay but a languid and careless obedience to a *Commander*, who is universally despised, has in his character neither energy nor any other estimable qualities whatever,—and whose head must soon be the forfeit of his personal insignificance, and his base subserviency to others (11.) He gives no orders, but is merely the organ through which they are transmitted. The better, although not the most numerous part of this armed force, would, upon any great and sudden event, act without hesitation, against the Committee of Public Safety. The Committee, diffident of their good-will and obedience, manage them with great caution ;

caution ; leaving them to regulate their own discipline, as they please.

The *Municipality of Paris* are connected with Roberfpierre's Committee, solely through the Mayor and the National Agent (12); two men who are among the most submissive and devoted of his creatures, and whose fortunes and abilities, but ill correspond to the situations in which they are placed, or to the combination of surrounding circumstances, by which their authority and security are continually threatened. Their partizans in the Common Council, are their private adherents, chosen always upon the interest of the moment. Two hundred *administrators* in this Common Council,—which is still formidable, maintain without participating in, the tyranny to which they are all subjected. Their obedience is entirely passive, like that of the majority of the Convention. Their motives are the same ; and the same will be their conduct. They all regret that Constitution which received its death's wound, on the 10th of *August*.

The *Sections of Paris*, or rather its *eight and forty revolutionary Committees* form the grand strength of the Committee of Public Safety, but would undoubtedly sacrifice that Committee to any very violent popular commotion. The members of those revolutionary committees, ever in  
secret

secret opposition to the magistrates at the head of the Common-Council, but always holding intelligence with its administrators, act solely upon views of private interest, and yield to corruption in every form in which it can assail them. The Committees strive almost always to enforce the subjection of the Committee of Public Safety to the Convention, even in measures demanded by exigencies so sudden, that the Convention cannot have had time to decide upon them. They often resist the orders of the Mayor, to the armed force, when those orders want the sanction of the Convention. A great majority of the sections would exert their influence and authority against the Committee of the Dictator, if a material change of the state of things, were attempted by the general concurrence and vigorous efforts of all parties.

The slavery under which the *capital* groans, is so galling, and so reluctantly borne; and so sensible are the Committee of Public Safety, of their danger from its present situation; that without a moment's relaxation of their vigilance, they are continually redoubling their tyrannical precautions, multiplying their cruelties, and enacting new and more rigorous pains and penalties against those Committees which act faintly, or betray their professed principles. They have ordained, that all who are suspected of conspiracy against the  
Republic,

Republic, shall be brought to Paris, that the infliction of continual punishments, (which might prove dangerous perhaps, in the departments in which public spirit has not yet totally extinguished humanity), may keep up the necessary terror in the *capital*; and that the arm of the executioner may never rest idle, till *its* turbulent and refractory spirit shall be wholly subdued.

Amidst all the private griefs and public calamities, amidst those scenes of death and carnage which are fast desolating Paris; all who are not involved in the guilt of their rulers, find life every day, more wretched and burthenfome; till the bitterness of existence disarms death, in their eyes, of half its terrors. Imprisonment is more terrible to them, than the scaffold to which they are to be conducted from the dungeon. But, the horrors continually before and around them, have produced a sort of languid stupor by which every soul is enervated, and every heart chilled. Even he who fears not, but rather wishes for, death, has not the courage to dare it in the face, by raising his arm to rid the earth of those monsters whose crimes exceed all possibility of adequate punishment. They rather live on, to see themselves slaughtered, one by one.

And yet, every fine day, and upon the first representation of any new dramatic piece, the public walks, and the theatres are constantly

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crowded



crowded (13.) The ancient vices, are still renewed ; the plans of pleasure, and the undertakings of trade are still prosecuted, as before. Levity, and fashions still maintain their sway. New houses are reared in all quarters with the same celerity, with which crimes are committed. They are filled with the most sumptuous furniture. Suspicion strips the imprudent possessor of all ; and they are soon purchased by another, more imprudent and unthinking than he. Never was avarice more general, or more grasping ; never was it, in its success, more dangerous. At all places of public entertainment, only the most luxurious dishes, and the rarest and most precious wines are used. Uncertain of their lives, all are eager to give the passing moments to joy ; and look forward with indifference to coming evil. The multitude repair from the terrors of a scene of public execution, to the gaiety of the theatres ; which are not fewer than twenty in number ; and there forget the horrors which they have beheld, and the dangers that threaten them. Returning home to meet imprisonment or the seizure of their papers and effects ; they find the temporary dissipation of their minds, succeeded by misery doubly poignant.

The Committee of Public Safety have turned the fears and anxiety of Paris, to the state of Europe, to the wars, and to the factions. They have

have abolished luxury in the articles of carriages, dress, and domestic servants. In its stead, they have encouraged a different species of employment for its ministers, better suited to the character of their new empire; a military industry employing all the workmen, whom want and idleness might otherwise have rendered dangerous. The restless activity of the people turns out to the profit of their *agitators*. An *hundred thousand men* are employed, night and day, in forging *pikes for insurrections*, and *guns* for the armies. A thousand or eleven hundred muskets are daily fabricated in the work-shops of Paris (14.) An hundred pieces of cannon, 4, 6, and 8 pounders, are cast, there, every month. The establishments at Meulan, Corbeil, and Fontainebleau, and those formed throughout the other departments, are proportionate to those at Paris. They are warmly promoted by all classes of the citizens; for, all long anxiously for that peace and tranquility which are to be obtained, only by the most vigorous and unremitting exertions; they no longer dread those foreign powers which once alarmed them; and they obey the terror of the moment.

To keep up the frenzy of the public mind, the most extravagant outrages are every day, thrown out, from the *Haranguing-boxes*, (Tribunes), and in the Theatres, against Princes and Kings.

**Kings.** Whatever can inflame the soul, and corrupt the heart ; whatever can encourage villainy, and form to regicide, is presented with all the fascinations of novelty, to dazzle and seduce the multitude. The splendid virtues and crimes recorded in history, are alike pressed into their service. They rake up from oblivion, whatever is infamous in the records of all times, and all places. On every house hangs the triple-coloured flag crowned with the red cap. Signs emblematically indicating the most unbridled licentiousness, and bearing inscriptions suitably indecent, are every where to be seen. Death every where threatens those weak or wavering men who may shew themselves unfaithful to equality, or rather, despotism. The busts of all regicides, from Brutus to Ankerström, stand in the hall of the Convention, and in other conspicuous and frequented public places. The people are called to the celebration of frequent festivals, that debauchery and excess may maintain and inflame their political extravagance (15.)

By such artifices, even the more intelligent class of the People have been brought to regard the events which have hitherto taken place, within and without France, as unanswerable reasons in favour of their legislators, and as victorious arguments against monarchs. The anarchists threaten to exterminate monarchy. Those, who  
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are more moderate, dread that, after seeing their property wasted in the contest between monarchy and republicanism, they may at last be reduced into abject servitude under a King.

The Convention and the Jacobins invented,—war, and factions have propagated and established throughout the greater part of France, that opinion which disciplines the rage of their armies; ‘ That Europe waged war not less against the French monarchy, than against the Jacobins; against the Royalists as well as the Sans-culottes; as well against the very country as against the political opinions prevalent in it: That the dismemberment of the territory still the common mother of them all, was the object and end of the war: That the evacuation of Alsace, the destruction of Toulon, the fruitless wishes of that city, and of La Vendée for their princes, the capitulations of Mentz and Valenciennes, were so many proofs of this fact, and were owing to it: That it was not for the sake of the French Clergy, that the Courts of Europe combined in the common cause of all governments: That an indifference to the misfortunes of the House of Bourbon would, at any rate, leave it sufficiently possible for the miscreants by whom France is now oppressed, to terminate the war advantageously to themselves, if they shall only be willing to make a few

‘ few sacrifices : That weariness of a protracted  
‘ war, and respect to their own interests must  
‘ shortly incline the Allies to negotiations which,  
‘ failing victory, will be sure resources as well  
‘ to the guilty, as to the unfortunate part of  
‘ France.’

‘ Farther, if such were not the views of the  
‘ Belligerent Powers, they would have gratified  
‘ the Royalists with their King’s Proclamation,  
‘ and with precise information of their inten-  
‘ tions upon a matter so infinitely interesting ;  
‘ they would have definitely and avowedly guar-  
‘ anteed to France, the forms of her monarchy,  
‘ her properties, and her rights ; they would  
‘ not have maintained that silence which affords  
‘ grounds for every fear, justifies every suspicion,  
‘ and provokes general resistance ; they would  
‘ have opened the treaty of peace which was  
‘ to be presented to, or imposed upon a great  
‘ nation.’

Such is every where the language held by  
villainy and imposture. These are the very  
words of the leaders of the factions. I have re-  
peated them exactly, in order to shew what mis-  
representations are employed to deceive the  
weakness and ignorance of the multitude. I am  
confident that these assertions will be confirmed  
by other persons worthy of credit, who have  
lately left France.

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These secret purposes imputed to the Allied Powers, are so favourable to the Convention ; that, whenever they are satiated for a time with slaughter, and give the executioners a momentary relaxation ; the Jacobins themselves confidently call the Royalists to consider the interests of the common country of them all, which Foreign Powers hope to conquer, and rend in pieces. *And are we not all Frenchmen?* cried one of their demagogues (16), at one of those sessions which have formed æras in the revolution : *The Royalists as well as we*, continued he, with the same daring insolence, *the Royalists as well as we, will be attacked by those Powers ; they will protect only what they mean to appropriate ; they will forget all but what may serve their own purposes of usurpation.*

To mark distinctly the steps of the progress, by which opinion has advanced to that lassitude in which its decision and energy are at present lost ; I must remind my readers, that *Toulon* was surrendered to the Constitutional King, whose deliverers, the English and Spaniards declared themselves. Its gates were opened to the monarchy. But, *Toulon*, the hope of the Royalists, by its fall repressed in others, the generous ardour which was seen to prove fatal to the inhabitants of that city.—I am compelled to add, that such has been the absurdity of the popular

pular opinions in this unfortunate kingdom ; that the Convention could hope to excuse to the people, the assassination of their King, only by persuading them that he had violated all his oaths, and had made every effort to overturn a Constitution to which that people were enthusiastically attacked, and whose fall they lamented.

It is generally believed in France, that, if the conditions on which Toulon surrendered, had been faithfully observed, a great majority of the Nation would, by degrees, have joined the Combined Powers. Yet, all prudent and intelligent Royalists, within and without the kingdom, agree in regarding the Constitution of 1789, which was much more democratical, than monarchical, as the first cause of all their misfortunes.

The instance of LA VENDEE, is in favour of this assertion. Its inhabitants surviving the loss or consumption of all their means of subsistence and offence, continue to carry on a war more surprising in its disasters, than even victories would be in other circumstances. Their invincible perseverance, at one time struck terror into the hearts of the tyrants, and spread consternation through the Convention. France for a moment believed, that the Revolution was about to be overwhelmed with its authors, and their

their adherents, 550 pieces of cannon, and about 160,000 muskets were, within the space of six months, either taken from the Republic, or at least lost to its defenders. It cost 200, or 220 thousand men, and 900 millions of livres in money, to stop the progress of this alarming war. The garrisons of Mentz and Valenciennes, were entirely consumed in it. A part of the regular supplies of provisions to the markets of Paris, were then cut off, and have not yet been renewed from that quarter (17.) Requisitions, levies, and the raising of the people in a mass, have produced a vacuum in this part of the Republic, which will not soon again be filled up.

When the Army of La Vendee, had, in triumph, crossed the Loire, and displayed their standards in Maine and Normandy; France and Paris were on the eve of a decisive counter-revolution. Providence ordered it otherwise; but the National Assembly could not dismiss their fears.

La Vendee, the only terror of the Convention, the only thing that ever appeared to them, to threaten the existence of the Republic,—has derived the energy and perseverance of its loyal exertions, from circumstances peculiar to itself. The simple and virtuous peasants of Poitou are almost absolute strangers to the language spoken through the rest of France. The

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new doctrines in religion and politics were, when they began their opposition, unknown to them. They were quite different men from the patriots. Acting in one spirit, and without diversity of views, they attacked all who acknowledged not their principles. But, these very circumstances have operated as causes to check and confine their progress. They have hindered them from combining themselves with the other departments which were, in general, infected with the Constitutional democracy, or were at least willing to content themselves with obtaining the restoration of that Constitution. To prove that this latter opinion has been that of the French Nation in general,—we need only to remark, that the adherents to the Constitution, have always been the most outrageously persecuted by the Convention, as being supposed the most likely to form a party, and gather around them malecontents more moderate than they of La Vendee.

The National Convention are so well aware, that their power stands not secure upon public opinion and the general inclinations of the people; that a force of 75,000 men which was stationed at Nantes, Rennes, Niort, and Rochelle, still remains fixed in these departments, with difficulty keeps them in subjection, and is as much on its guard against them, as against the  
People

People of La Vendee. The miseries under which all the French groan, the Agents and Executioners of the Convention alone excepted, are such as to induce them to prefer any means by which their deliverance may be effected, to all their prejudices in favour of the Constitution. Without doubt, if liberal succour were now granted to La Vendee, all those men might be rallied under the same standards, who, however disagreeing in principles and opinions, concur with unanimity, in one ardent wish to be delivered from the tyranny under which they are now trampled. The opinion which was, and still is generally prevalent through France, is, that an effectual Counter-Revolution can arise out of La Vendee alone; if speedily excited, and adequately supported, its success would be sure. But never was there more urgent need for assistance to the Counter-Revolutionists in this quarter, than at the present moment. The separation of the bands in La Vendee, the gradual reduction of the corps, the desertions occasioned by want, fear, and despondency, have reduced these Counter-Revolutionary forces to 24,000 men (18.) It was feared, at the time when I left France, that these gallant warriors would not again be able to make such formidable exertions, as those by which they last year raised the general hopes of the Royalists, unless large  
supplies

supplies and powerful assistance should be speedily promised and sent to them. A PRINCE OF FRANCE, alone, would be the proper Commander to conduct them to a *grand conquest*.

*Religion* equally implores this aid. The people whom I have left, were divided between respect for the ministers of their old church, and abhorrence of those Constitutional Priests; of whom the greater part are now in the houses for public correction; while the rest are cast daily into the dungeons, by those virtuous men, for whom they betrayed their God and his worship. That part of the Clergy who were seduced to impiety and perjury, have already sunk into the contempt with all parties, which they justly deserve. But, from this degradation and ignominy of the ministers of religion, there has unfortunately arisen a general indifference for religion itself. This indifference, encouraged every where by corruption, and by the Agents of the Committee of Public Safety, threatens to seduce the people to a new religion; if that of their fathers be not shortly restored to them in such strength and dignity as may ensure its permanence. The *moral æra* of the French Revolution would be peculiarly baneful to all Europe.

Nothing is to be hoped from that *famine* of which the Newspapers have long spoken. It has, in Paris, served as a handle to the Common-Council

Council against the Convention. But, the Convention has possessed itself of means of subsistence fully adequate to the national necessities. When scarce and dear in the capital, provisions have been found in sufficient abundance in the surrounding country. In some parts indeed, particularly in Guienne, there has been a total failure. But the Convention had their reasons for distressing with famine, a province in which they dreaded the influence of the Federalists; and besides, from this province, as from others, the grain had been carried away to the frontiers, whither abundance attracted defenders. Of this grain some part was sent back to the inhabitants of the interior districts, after the frontiers had received sufficient supplies. The exact distribution which took place, for four months, in the departments, and the œconomy which was consequently observed, have removed all anxiety in respect to supplies of provisions.

France is at present far from being in want of grain. Plentiful crops are about to be reaped and gathered in, in security, upon a soil of uncommon fertility. Agriculture has obtained sufficient attention, and has enjoyed encouragements which give labour new activity and vigour. Under a government which directs the field of the foldier to be tilled by his fellow-citizens at home; in a country in which the energy of population

pulation soon supplies to rural labours, those hands of which the towns and the armies have deprived them ; famine may be regarded as one of those vengeful scourges with which divine wrath rarely afflicts mankind.

Besides, the greater the scarcity of grain in the interior departments ; so much the more eagerly would soldiers crowd to the frontiers of the Empire. Famine and rapine would desolate them together ; and the Allies would have a new species of despair to contend with, one obstacle more to surmount, another danger peculiarly formidable, to face.

The *animals requisite for human subsistence*, are more rapidly consumed than reproduced. But the armies enjoy the waste. The inhabitants of the provinces, daily withhold animal-food from themselves, that they may rather bestow it on the soldiers, some voluntarily, others in obedience to law. Animal-food is, in consequence of this, very rare in some districts, in others, as for instance Normandy, sufficiently plentiful. Horses are sensibly diminished in number. Those which the Convention procures out of Switzerland, and from the neutral powers, are not equal to supply the consumption of labours above the strength of these animals,—wherever they are employed,—of the convoys, and of the armies. At the same time, truth obliges me to declare, that

that agriculture has still nearly a sufficient number of horses for all its purposes. The astonishing waste of horses has hitherto been supplied chiefly by withdrawing them from the service of luxury, from the uses of trade, and from the accommodation of ordinary life. The posts are as plentifully furnished with horses, as ever; their courses have been neither relaxed nor interrupted.

*Cloths* are fabricated at Sedan, Louviers, and Elbœuf, in large manufacturing establishments. They are more rapidly made than formerly, but less beautifully finished. The price is higher than formerly; and as it is easy to elude the law by which it is fixed at a certain rate; the woollen manufactures of France may go on for some time longer. They may furnish clothing for the Nation, till the end of the year 1796. The valuable animal which yields the wool has been taken under the protection of the Convention; and the consumption of mutton is already diminished.

Iron, lead, and copper are still in some sort plentiful. Neither private houses, nor public monuments have yet been stripped of these metals. The demands of tyranny have been hitherto supplied, without any use of those immense resources. All the roads and rivers are continually covered with cargoes of brass and bell-metal.

metal. Four thousand bells at Rouen are about to be transformed into cannon. All the departments afford large resources of this nature. The French Nation mean to use them all, and thus to weary out the Allied Powers, till it shall be absolutely impossible for them to end the war with victory.

There is an absolute want of leather, soap, and tallow. Individuals find extreme difficulty in procuring even small portions of these articles, very inadequate to their wants. In several districts, and *even at Paris, linens are whitened with a preparation of chalk and grease. Persons in the easiest circumstances, are obliged to wear wooden shoes, and to send those which they have of leather to the army. In certain parts of the republic, shirts and bed-clothes have been put under requisition.* At one time, the requisition for these articles was about to be extended over all France.

The people are every where in the utmost wretchedness (20.) *Butter, sallad-herbs, beans and pease, are all taken from them, and placed under requisition for the profit of the Republic. At the first demand of a Commissary or Administrator, they are obliged to give up even the necessaries for their own subsistence,—even the ox or sheep which has been weighed alive, registered, and left with the owner, only that he might keep*

*keep it for the republic.* Oils, beer, and brandy become every day less and less plentiful. Forage and oats are demanded even before harvest.

*Taxes of personal labour* are every where exacted. The farmers and labourers are employed in the most laborious carriages at more than 50 leagues often, from their own homes,—and dare not ask their wages. He who refuses or remonstrates, is dragged to prison. *The father is obliged to denounce, and prosecute his own son, if he be put under requisition*: for he who flees from requisition, is accounted an emigrant; and the whole property of his family soon after sequestrated. The despair is general; but terror holds it silent and inactive. The people are in want of every necessary; but immediate plenty and peace are promised them; and they endure, because they hope.

Through all France, saltpetre is eagerly sought in every place that affords, or appears to afford it (21.) It is manufactured into gun-powder with better success than the first trials seemed to promise. Persons skilled in the manufacture, have been sent throughout all parts of the republic, and have communicated their skill to others with the utmost possible activity. A million of men are at present employed in this work, which is most liberally rewarded. Yet, the gun-

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powder



powder is less plentiful than other articles of ammunition ; and inferior in quality, to that used by the Combined Armies. However, the neutral powers assist France with powder, and give great hopes, that they will continue and augment their supplies.

The requisitions, that new species of despotism, which turns to the sole purpose of defence, all the men, and all the other resources of the society ; these requisitions at first disgusted and irritated the inhabitants of both town and country, and excited numerous insurrections ; but have at least produced a general impression of terror, which nothing resists. They are now considered, as arising from that necessity by which the nation believe themselves urged to oppose enemies whose courage is represented to them, as savage ferocity. Every Frenchman is content to employ one part of his property for the defence of the rest. Compliance with the requisitions, is considered as an article in the treaty of peace, to the bringing of which about, every department eagerly concurs, while all continue to hope for it. To such a length have the Committee of Public Safety proceeded, since the very first, in this desperate measure, that they may, for some time yet to come, dispose at will of the labour and fortunes of their fellow citizens,—raise armies as easily as emit assignats,

nats,—and transfer the inhabitants of town and of country, from one part to another of the empire; as they please.

Eight hundred and fifty thousand effective men in arms, obey their orders in the field. The number may be augmented; as there is reason to fear that it will be, when the conclusion of the labours of harvest and seed-time, shall have left those who are now busied in husbandry, at liberty, to repair to the armies. According to all appearances, France may, in the end of the campaign, enter with new vigour, upon measures of general offence; unless the Allies shall, before that time, have accomplished their purposes in the entire ruin of her armies.

It is impossible to mention the state of the PUBLIC REVENUE, without observing, that, in respect of it, the French have, for the moment, raised themselves to a superiority over all the rest of Europe combined. Seven ninths of the land are the immediate property of the Republic. This permanent pledge for a paper, which no longer requires a pledge for its value, has become inexhaustible, in consequence of the frequency with which property changes masters;—and always to the advantage of the Assembly; which contrived the plan of declaring the whole lands of France to be national property, of registering

gifting the territory, as well as the public debt, in a *great book*,—and of selling a second time, the property of the clergy and nobles (23), on pretence that it had been, at first, disposed of, at a price much below its actual value.

The true value of the assignats, is, at present, determined by the law of the *maximum*, which fixes the prices of all necessities that are to be bought with assignats. This law is, however, easily eluded in exchanges between private individuals. But, this only ensures its execution in favour of the Republic, which is the only profiter by it. Eight hundred millions of assignats clog circulation. This alarming truth has been publicly avowed by the Committee upon the Revenue, itself. Not a merchant but knows, that, as the quantity may be enlarged, without detection, if the *numbers* be repeated, or not expressed; they must amount actually to a sum much greater than the above. Not a Frenchman but dreads a fatal event, by which this poor remains of his fortune may be lost in his own hands.

The Convention have encouraged the Nation to hope, that the specie would again make its appearance. And this hope has been very anxiously indulged. But the war renders it impossible for them to accomplish what they promised. The total expences of the state amount to fifteen

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or sixteen millions in the day. The months of March and April, opening the campaign, cost in extraordinary preparations, five or six millions more in the day (24). But, fears are entertained of a new paper which might abolish assignats, as the assignats have banished specie from circulation,—and confine them to the purchase of national property.

The National Convention have, in their treasury, five hundred millions of livres, in gold and silver coin. The mint at Paris, to which were conveyed all quantities of the precious metals, found in the provincial mints at the time of their suppression, contains about seventy millions in bullion. These sums are daily augmented by fines and confiscations. The plunder of the churches produced two and thirty millions. No consecrated plate remains in the kingdoms; even family-chapels having been spoiled. *For these eight months, all the churches in Paris have been shut up.* The churches in the provinces have been shut all up, successively.

Nor is it impossible, that the French Republic may one day have gained possession of all the money of the other European nations, when their treasures shall be wholly exhausted; and *they* may be free of all taxes, by means of the public domains, at a time, when taxation shall be

be carried among all other nations to its utmost height.

The Committee of Public Safety have abandoned the colonies, knowing that the consumption of France is too necessary to America and Europe, not to be made, at all times, a grand object of their trade. The men, means, and exertion requisite for the maintenance of a fleet, may afford vast resources for a land force. A people already formed to simplicity of life, will require little from the rest of Europe, but will always have much to furnish to it. The Convention, after accustoming themselves to these reasonings, have instilled them into the minds of the People, so that they may destroy their harbours, burn their shipping, and entrenching themselves within barbarism, as within a rampart, aim a mortal blow at the trade of all other nations, by annihilating their own. If reduced to the last extremity, they will probably determine upon this desperate resource. Yet, after their late defeat at sea, I am persuaded that the pride of the members of the Committee of Public Safety, will prompt them to attempt the fitting out of a new squadron; which I have no doubt but they may accomplish.

I have represented Paris, as the *grand workshop and arsenal* of opinions, arms, and crimes. The public mind is here never at rest. Public enter-

entertainments succeed executions ; even the executions have become a sort of public spectacle which the people cannot want, nor their tyrants dispense with. Curiosity is not to be defrauded of its rights. The numbers which continually perish on the scaffold, from time to time excite and inflame it. The very executions are a favourite gratification to the People.

The Royalists have terminated a life which does honour to the cause in which they died, with all the steady, unshrinking fortitude of heroism (25.) The magnanimous, and lamentable examples of the most virtuous of Kings and the greatest of Queens, have been their model and their last consolation.

The miscreants of democracy, from the Duke of Orleans and Father Duchesne, to Brissot and Danton, conducted by their crimes to the scaffold, have mounted it with a firmness truly astonishing, breathing the fury of their opinions, or fierce in the desperate certainty that they could at no time hope for pardon (26.)

That sex to whom nature seems to have granted only sensibility and personal charms, have surpassed in firmness and courage, the men who have distinguished themselves the most by these qualities. But, this magnanimity has no effect upon the multitude who have been so long misled, and whom their tyrants have divested of every

every feeling of humanity (27.) The French People no longer retain even the bare remembrance of that urbanity and gentleness, by which they were distinguished above all other nations. They are urged every day, more and more, into the imitation of Rome and Athens, with all their ancient vices about them, with all the hypocrisy of liberty, and all the extravagant fancies of popular sovereignty.

Newspapers, of the most inflammatory spirit (28.) which have been multiplied to an astonishing number, keep up their frenzy. They convey the news of victory, and furious hate against the vanquished, to the extremities of the empire, with a degree of celerity, and with an universality of communication which afford room for a new triumph. Defeat and misfortune are so artfully set forth (29.), so dexterously accommodated to the circumstances, and to the temper of the people; that they have become a powerful means of encouragement, and the handle by which all considerable sacrifices have been obtained. France has seen her enemies in her very bosom, and so near to Paris, that they must no longer hope to terrify her. The retreat of the Duke of Brunswick has produced effects which would make the frontiers appear wide, were they contracted even to the walls of the capitals. An armed force, which is ever retreating,

ing, but never advances, is contemned by the people. The French Revolution, and the armies which support it, must be attacked with the same activity which they themselves continually exert against their enemies. That slowness, prudence, and observance of the rules of the military art, which direct the attacks, and regulate the plans for operation of the Combined Armies, —still more, those views which calumny and democratic deceit ascribe to them, daily deprive their arms of partizans, of communications, and of good wishes in the interior parts of a kingdom which is governed by terrour. When terrour shall have consigned the People who are now its slaves, to quiet; when the habit of giving up their possessions to the public shall have taught them to forego the wants of luxury for the more pleasing enjoyments of personal tranquility, (and this their tyrants promise them); there is reason to fear, that the Allied Powers may be left alone with their armies, in that land into which so many victims of tyranny now invite them.

*Two and twenty thousand men and women are confined in the prisons of the capital, or have guards set over them in their own houses. Six hundred and fifty three thousand were detained in the departments on the 26th of April last (30.) This number has been since augmented by all those members of the order of the Nobility who*

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were enjoined by the decrees to retire from Paris, from all fortified places, and from all sea-port towns, and to appear every day before the municipality of the place in which they should be permitted to take up their abode. Three hundred perish daily by public punishment, throughout the kingdom. The great difficulty of escaping out of the kingdom occasions *suicides*, which *have become so common that they are no longer thought remarkable*. Loss of fortune, vexation, and disease, increase the waste of human lives. It is almost certain, that all these causes, in conjunction with intestine and foreign war, have already diminished the population of France, by about twelve or thirteen hundred thousand men.

The departments being not so far gone as Paris, in enthusiasm and public spirit, and being impoverished by the crimes of the capital, in the same manner as the provinces were formerly impoverished by its luxury, feel most sensibly the crushing burthen of the Revolution, and detest it the most. But they are attached to their present fate by a complication of private interests; and are threatened by such a multiplicity of dangers; that they dare not rouse themselves to shake off the yoke. While the hope of foreign aid is so distant and uncertain, they prefer the ignominy and depression of servitude, to  
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the struggles, and fatal consequences of revolt: Every where are malecontents ; yet rebellion is no where likely to arise, until the flags of victory and peace shall wave together on the same ramparts.

Artois, Picardy, Brittany, and Normandy are the provinces in which a new order of things is the most impatiently desired. In these provinces, the whole mass of the people want only arms, a secure opportunity, and leaders, to rise in insurrection, and declare openly against the Convention. Normandy will open its harbours to the first squadron that shall offer to enter them. Its inhabitants will assemble round the first white flag that shall be displayed on the coasts, if they may only depend upon steady protection ; but they will not act before receiving the succours which they implore.

Unless, therefore, the Allied Powers shall gain some very remarkable advantages ; or unless an explosion should take place within the Convention or in Paris, which no one deputy has sufficient influence to accomplish ; no great internal change is to be expected, that can prove favourable to the views of the Combined Powers. Such a change would become almost impossible, if the Committee of Public Safety should first compel these Powers to negotiate for Peace. Those deputies who have the chief influence, perhaps even

ven Robespierre himself, may be brought to the block without occasioning any grand convulsion. The spirit of the Revolution would survive such events. A new Assembly would still act upon the same principles. It is to *Sans-culottism* they owe their strength; only the Combined efforts of Europe will be sufficient to destroy it.

Some deputies will, no doubt, fall the victims of their own low intrigues, and profligate corruption. But their ill-concerted projects will not impair the authority of the Committee of Public Safety; their punishments will confirm its power. Unless some remarkable disaster should befall the arms of the Republic, the formation of no great faction or conspiracy, is to be expected before the end of the campaign. In the mean time, it is to be feared, that the Committee of Public Safety may have given France a new form of government; and that Robespierre may be established at its head. For these seven months, his plan has appeared to be, to form a small senate, representative and elective, assembled at first for a limited time, but afterwards to be prorogued or continued at the pleasure of a Council. The members may be elective and for life, under the presidency of a *Head* not removeable, under an Appellation of which the precise signification has not yet been fixed. He would be without the splendour of royalty,  
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the Sovereign of a Republic in fetters. He would be invested even with the authority of opinion, by granting to all parties what they desire, and protecting them from what they fear. For, not to conceal a truth, *he who should now restore to the French Nation the security of life and private property, might assuredly reign over them. The general weariness of their present condition, is such, that they would acknowledge any settled government with joy.*

This plan has been gradually and imperceptibly entered into execution, within these last four months ; the people are divested of the nomination to civil employments, municipal magistracies, judicial, or administrative offices. The convocation of the primary assemblies is prohibited. The revolutionary government, that is, the violation of all laws, even those newly instituted by the Convention, has been by *necessity* sanctioned, and established, to continue for the duration of the war. The Committee of Public Safety disposes of all powers and offices. Its authority was never greater, or more fully recognized, than at present, when a great part of the revolutionary committees are about to be divested of all their influence. The transference of property determined upon, produces every day new suspicions and accusations of crimes, in order to the bringing of those to the scaffold, who have enjoyed

enjoyed property or privileges. Those who perish not on the scaffold, will probably be *transported* (31). Their possessions must be shared out to the armies, and to the partisans and supporters of the new Government. Peace and the abolition of taxes may then confirm that new Government, and produce a new people by whom all other governments may be overturned, and the thrones of Europe levelled in the dust. *The Republic of France must perish; or the governments of Europe fall before the end of the century.* Such are the projects which the Committee of Public Safety avows, every day more and more openly. Those very words often fall from Robespierre and Barrere.

The events of every successive day give new force, and probability to these fears. The crimes corresponding to the French character, are exhausted. They begin to renew those of Greece and Rome. A new fashion of dress even,—has, for this last year, been provided for the use of this nation, who are destined to retain none of their ancient habits or customs. The empire of the senses has such power over the multitude, that the Grecian and Roman garb may perhaps make them forget, that France alone is their country. Gymnastic exercises, running and wrestling; festivals of triumph, an oaken garland, and the pantheon; theatres consecrated  
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to the entertainment of the people, and formed on the models of those of antiquity, which have been admired through all succeeding ages,—may long disguise slavery under the delusive colours of liberty. A religion which should augur the descent of the God of Victories, and of Justice upon the earth; might perhaps, compleat the spell, render it vain to regret the past, and produce a cordial and sincere attachment to the present.

These principles, upon which the public schools have been instituted, indicate sufficiently those upon which the present rulers desire to form the national character. The rising generation who have sucked in the spirit of mad republicanism with their mother's milk, will be rendered the most dangerous people in the world. They will seek opportunities to exercise their valour; their republic must be a military one; their principles, though false, will be found the most seductive that man has ever had to combat; for, what can be more flattering to the multitude, than the usurpation of sovereign power, equality excluding all punishment, robbery sanctioned by law?

After this account of the state of France, and of the schemes of its tyrants,—one may venture to assert, that *all peace, accommodation, or negotiation with the French Republic, would be a heinous*

*nous crime against social order.* They strive to seize or destroy the property of all other states. No treaty could be secure with men who have sworn to violate every treaty. *By any temporary peace which might be made with them, none of those mischiefs would be averted* which Europe has to fear from them. The very germ of Revolution must be extirpated from France, otherwise, every other government may equally expect to be overturned.

This is the end to which the Committee of Public Safety directs all its efforts. To such a degree is this the first object to which it looks for the stability of its government, that a part of its treasures, and a great many Emissaries are employed, in all quarters, with an activity and a perseverance alike indefatigable, to spread its principles, and the contagion of its crimes. In Piedmont, in Poland, in Italy, in Brabant, and even in England, attempts have been industriously made to propagate these principles. A very large sum was sent to Warsaw, for this purpose, in the beginning of March last (32.) All the jewels of France have been carried to Turkey, to bribe the Divan, in order to excite a powerful diversion against the two imperial Courts.

Such being the resources, and designs of the Committee of Public Safety; its projects can

perish only with itself; but its resources are so lavishly employed, that they *must* at length be exhausted; even although much more considerable than they have been here represented.

The Committee of Public Safety cannot enhance that terror with which they have already impressed the nation. The Allied Powers may alleviate and remove it. They may even direct it entirely against the Convention itself. The general lassitude of the French Nation may afford them the most powerful aid, and the most effective alliance. Let them only convince that unfortunate people, that the arms which they have taken up, are not to be laid down, until they shall have restored monarchy, order, and property. *The Committee of Public Safety are obliged to make excuses even for their victories, and to talk incessantly of peace to the people, that they may persuade them to the continuance of the war. If, at the end of this campaign,—be its success what it may,—that people see themselves again called upon, to exhaust the poor remains of their substance, in support of their tyrants, without obtaining that peace with the hopes of which they are flattered; I will venture to say, that despair must then produce among them some decisive convulsion.*

I dare affirm that the Committee of Public Safety, and the Government which shall succeed it, will find it impossible to resist two other

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years of war. They will obtain nothing from the people, but by the force of punishment. Revolutionary expedients must necessarily destroy and overthrow them, before the period to which they might otherwise prolong their existence. But, they flatter themselves with the hope of bringing the Belligerent Powers to agree to a peace in the ensuing winter ; and then they intend to employ all that clemency and security can do, in order to confirm their power, and to extend the principles upon which it is founded, to the extremities of the earth (33).

This is the state of things ; these are the enemies to be combatted ; these the misfortunes and crimes, new in the annals of mankind, which are to be brought to an end. However great the dangers,—the resources against those dangers are still greater. It is, no doubt, easier to overcome and abolish such a government, than to be obliged to guard continually against its assaults (34).

How succeed ? Concerning the means of success, I will not pretend to enlighten ministers so eminent as those at the head of the principal cabinets in Europe. But they could not see what I have seen. It is for this reason, that I have thought proper to publish it. This sketch may perhaps appear to contain striking contradictions.

dictions. But, in the aspect of a revolution, such are to be expected.

I venture to say, that as we know very exactly what passes in France, and are sure of finding in it as many Allies, as there are malecontents, we may with no great difficulty, effect great changes. But we must not deceive ourselves as to the means to be employed ; and we may be well assured, that not a moment is to be lost, if we would save Europe.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

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## NOTES.

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Note 1. Page 44.

About two hundred and eighty members are constantly busy in the Committees. An hundred, or an hundred and thirty are with the armies, and in the departments, as representatives of the people. The remainder alone, regularly attend the *sessions* of the Convention.

## Note 2. Page 49.

Nine millions of livres have been expended in the decoration of the Palace of the Thuilleries, which is to be divided by a brazen railing from *Carroufel-Square*. Eighty millions are to be applied to the formation of canals; and forty millions to the reparation of the highways: labourers are employed upon these. A grand theatre, and the richest and most expensive decorations, are to be dedicated to the representation of Greek and Roman entertainments. The collection of the *Musæum*, the richest in the world,

world, is every day augmented at new expence, and with new pains. Orders have been given for the finishing of the palace of the Louvre.

Note 3. Page 53.

The National Convention and the Thuilleries were, for three days, invested by seventy thousand armed men. The members of the Brissotine and Girondist faction passed through their ranks to prison.

Note 4. Page 54.

Marat, at three different times, within the space of four months, concealed himself in a cell under the church of the Cordeliers, and thence emitted, every morning, his invenomed sheet, named the *Friend of the People*. He could not be persuaded to yield obedience to the decree obtained against him by the Brissotines, till at the end of fifteen days after it had been passed, when he was fully assured, that his life was in no danger.

Note 5. Page 54.

This fact is asserted by an intimate friend of Marat's, and well ascertained. Marat saw his end approaching, and believed that his vital powers were wasted by poison which had been given him by Roberspierre.

Note

## Note 6. Page 54.

It is established beyond a doubt, by testimonies obtained on the spot, by a deputy of the Convention, who has at present great influence among the Jacobins; that Roberspierre made Grangeneuve and Fauchet his instruments for bringing Charlotte Corday from the department of Calvados, to Paris, and for prompting her to assassinate Marat; by making her believe that Marat's end in stirring up the populace to licentious pillage,—was, to ruin and overturn the Commonwealth. Charlotte Corday assassinated Marat, as a sacrifice to the stability of the Republic.

## Note 7. Page 55.

Gobet was summoned before the Committee of Public Safety, and from them received 85 thousand livres, to induce him to abjure his character of Priest, next day, before the Convention. Within two months after, the same Committee delivered him over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, (it may not be improper to observe that the establishment of this tribunal, the requisitions, and the raising of the people in masses, were planned by Danton), where one of the principal articles of the impeachment against him, was, that he had received the sum of 85 thousand

thousand livres from *disorganizers and aristocrats*, for the abjuration of his religion. Hebert received each day, from the Committee of Public Safety, the subject of his paper for the next day, which was intituled *Father Duchesne*. It is an incontrovertible truth, that Camillus des Moulins was persuaded to publish his six numbers of the *Old Cordelier*, solely by the repeated solicitations of Roberfpierre. Roberfpierre believing Desmoulins to be a sincere Republican, and dreading his character and principles, resolved to bring him to the block, to which he had himself brought many others.

Note 8. Page 55.

The Deputy La Croix, and three superior officers in the army of the North, have averred at different times, and to different persons, since the month of July; that Roberfpierre knowing the avarice of Danton, had long urged him to go to Belgium; assuring him that he might there make a great fortune, that he should have full powers from the Convention, and that all pecuniary transactions should pass through his hands.

Note 9. Page 58.

Couthon is carried in a chair, to and from the Convention, and the hall of the Jacobins. He has not been able to walk for these eight months; but

but he only labours, on this account, the more industriously to serve the purposes of Rober-spierre. He cannot possibly think of being any thing by himself. His fortune amounts to a million and a half (62,500l. Sterling.). Barrere has three millions (125,000l. Sterling) in Italy and Denmark; this he acknowledged himself, about three months ago. St Just said, in November last, *The Marquis de Fontvieille* (his name before the Revolution) *was ruined by the decrees of the Convention; but a mission to the armies, and six months in the Committee, will soon afford me much more than he lost.*

Note 10. Page 60.

A deputy going upon a commission, commonly wastes 15 or 20 thousand livres in the month, for his personal expences. The Representatives of the People travel in carriages which belonged to the Court and the Emigrants, and are drawn by six or eight horses. They, almost all, keep open table; they empty every where the wine-cellars which have been sequestered for the benefit of the Nation; and abandon themselves to the most licentious debauchery. They have power of life and death; and not a day passes on which they do not send victims to punishment, while they take money at all hands for setting them at liberty. One of these miscreants, nam-  
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ed Andrew Dumont, has received immense sums at Abbeville, Amiens, and through all Picardy. He has even purchased, by the intervention of a person of the name of Picot, the *hotel du Plouys*, one of the finest in Abbeville, and has given him a commission to purchase for him also the Estate of the same name. Le Vasseur has extorted from the *Aristocrats* of Lille and Flanders, about 600,000 livres, which he has transmitted to Berne. Siblot and Legendre have received considerable sums in the departments of the Eure and the Lower Seine. Le Bon has plundered Arras of about 500,000 livres, pilfered from repositories sealed up by his orders,—or extorted from the relations of persons whom he delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal of that city. Proofs even of legal validity, incontestibly establish the truth of these facts.

Note 11. Page 62.

Henriot was formerly an Agent and Clerk upon one of the roads into Paris. He has no fortune; and is daily engaged in scenes of debauchery and drunkenness. He was on the point of being sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, after the punishment of Vincent and Ronsin. But, promising a blind obedience to Roberfpierre, he was kept in his place, although the orders for his trial had been signed.

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Note



## Note 12. Page 63.

Payan, who under the name of National Agent, is the chief member of the Common-Council of Paris, came from Provence to Paris, at the order of Robespierre, whose creature he is. He has no personal fortune ; but is a most artful and abandoned villain. His personal aspect is very like that of his patron, whom he resembles even in near-sightedness and faintness of voice. Robespierre gave him, in the month of February, 17,500 livres.

## Note 13. Page 66.

Not fewer than two hundred new dramas have been represented, since the 10th of August 1792. Without having witnessed the exhibition, it is hardly possible to conceive any just idea of their immorality and barbarity of sentiment and action. Barrere speaking of theatrical entertainments in the Convention, observed: *The insipidity and whining softness of Racine, emasculates a manly mind. The Sans-Culotte Crebillon is the poet for a Commonwealth.*

## Note 14. Page 67.

All the great hotels in Paris, the churches, and the public squares, are full of forges and armouries. The work is performed so hastily,  
and

and with so little skill, that great part of the guns are entirely unfit for shooting.

Note 15. Page 68.

Eight and forty festivals have been celebrated at Paris, in honour of Marat and Pelletier, every one more disgusting than another. Mausolæa have been erected to them in all the town-halls, and their pictures are preserved in almost all the houses in France. The orgies which have taken place, since the abolition of the Catholic Religion, exceed in frenzy, debauchery, and atrocious wickedness, whatever had before dishonoured human nature.

Note 16. Page 71.

These very words have been several times used by Couthon and Collot d'Herbois in the Jacobin Society ; particularly, after the reduction of Valenciennes and the evacuation of Toulon. Collot d'Herbois is well known to have abstracted from the ruins of Lyons, two millions and three hundred thousand livres in gold, of which not a word has been yet said in the Convention.

Note 17. Page 73.

There was an absolute failure of black-cattle in the markets of Sceaux and Poissy in July and August last. Normandy and Poitou, from  
which

which they had been usually supplied, were then partly in the hands of the Royalists and Federalists. The army of the latter advanced to Passy. Nearly at the same time, Valenciennes was taken, Toulon opened its gates; the cities of Tours and Orleans were in expectation of the Royalists; and thirty three counter-revolutionary bodies of men had assembled in different parts of France. The Convention were in the deepest consternation; and it was even proposed in the Committee of Public Safety, that they should remove to the *Venaisian* country: Such was the general confusion and mistrust, that the *Louis* was then exchanged for 62 livres-assignats. Even in May last, it was bought and sold for 50 and 55 livres-assignats, at the risk of suffering death for the transaction.

Note 18. Page 75.

It is to be observed, that I speak here of the state of La Vendee, about the 20th of April last. Want of provisions; the difficulty of military operations in a country through which it is for one half of the year, impossible to march; and the desarts which have been barbarously formed by devastation, around the heroes; had driven them to inaction, and had occasioned the dispersion of their parties, and the desertion of many of the peasants.

Note

## Note 19. Page 78.

The lowest of the people in Paris, were at one time, on the point of absolutely wanting bread and butchers-meat. But, the rich, and those who had provided stores for themselves, were always sufficiently supplied. Grain seized on the road by the revolutionary army, that is, by the people of Paris, came in, every night, for the use of the next day. Paris, which in the month of October required 1640 *septiers* of flour in the day, had only 4 or 500 *septiers* for more than six weeks. But, this scarcity was always artificially created; for, in the neighbourhood there was plenty.

## Note 20. Page 80.

It would be false reasoning, to conclude from the terrible misery of the people, that France is at present ravaged by famine; for there is a certainty that there will be no want of grain for this year. But, the grain is taken from the people as fast as it is cut down. It is then accumulated in granaries, for the use of the armies; there is left or distributed in each district, only that quantity which is indispensibly necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants; and this horrible measure secures their obedience to their administrators. The absolute want of  
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all other necessaries leaves the people in misery so extreme, that they have not even the means for insurrection. The hopes of happiness and secure property with which they are continually abused, lengthen out their patience, and soothe them to a longer endurance of their ills.

Note 21. Page 81.

On pretence of discovering salt-petre in all those places in which it is naturally produced; houses, walls, office-houses, and gardens, are so industriously examined, dug up, and taken down; that gold and silver are often discovered where they have been hidden; and the law gives a part to the discoverer.

Note 22.

The Convention have registered all the Creditors of the Republic in a book, which is the only written evidence of the debt: for the creditors have been obliged to deposit their bonds in the national treasury, under the penalty of being deprived of them by force, and treated as suspicious persons. Under the name of Creditors of the Republic, are comprehended all those who were Creditors upon the property which has been taken from its former possessors by the Revolution. They are all confounded together in the book, without any distinction of the particular

ticular subjects upon which their respective securities were originally constituted. They have no obligation for the debt, but a ticket on which is specified *such a sum due by the Republic*; no security but the *preservation of the great book*; and no pledge, but *the good faith of the French Republic*.

The Convention intend trying the same game with the landholders, and mean to *nationalize* the whole territory of France. After judging of the *rights to possession*, they will register, as the only title, the names of those whose rights to their lands shall be found valid. These registrations may be considered as a new species of assignats; for with the tickets accompanying them, the Convention pays all the debts of the state; and they are received again, as money, for a certain time, in payment for purchases of national property. On the first of May, the loss upon assignats, was 38 per Cent. This new advantage, favours the National sales, and brings tickets in, every day, to the National Treasury, where they are destroyed. The low credit of both the tickets and the assignats obliges all the creditors of the state to exchange their paper-money for national property; so that in the end, the Republic will owe nothing, yet will have paid nothing: for punishments and decrees bring back, every day, by confiscation, a part  
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of the property sold. By pursuing this course of robbery and assassination, the Committee of Public safety hope to have it in their power, to dispose of a part of the land-property in favour of the army and the *Sans-Culottes* ; and with the other, to free the state from all taxes, and leave the nation without debts or assignats.

The taxes, with the rents of the national lands, afforded last year, three-fifths of the whole revenue : and the decree for a forced loan of a *million*, left to no person, however rich, more than 4500 livres for his support ; the rest of his annual income being taken for the use of the nation. This loan, however, produced not more than 43 millions at Paris, where it should have produced 87 millions ; and only 391 millions from all the rest of France.

The project of the *registration* originated with the Abbè Syeyes ; and that inept financier Cambon, laboured upon it for nine months.

#### Note 23. Page 84.

The property of the Nobility which was not at first eagerly bought, finds now, a ready enough sale. All find it for their safety, to take part in the dilapidation ; even the most honest men cannot, without danger, avoid it. But the Convention who put under contribution, all fears and all passions, send sometimes the ori-

ginal proprietor of an estate, and its new purchaser to the same prison ; the latter becoming as guilty as the former, as soon as he has gained an equal fortune.

Note 24. Page 85.

This statement is mathematically exact. The month of March last, cost 830 millions : April was stated, in the Committee upon the Revenue, and in the Treasury, at 640 millions.

Note 25. Page 87.

Such was Count de L'Aigle—who said to the People : *It is not my head, but bread, and your King, you should call for ;* M. de Laguiomarais, who continued to cry *Long live the King*, to his last breath : M. de Tundutti, who said to the People, *I die for my King, and you live to serve assassins : I pity you, for you are hired to applaud my execution, yet are at the same time, forced to admire me.* M. de Maleherbes opposed the tranquil courage of a blameless life to the furious exclamations of barbarity. M. de Montjournain, proudly avowed before his murderers, his courage and misfortunes on the 10th of August, and went from the prison to the scaffold, after consoling the sorrows of those who were to follow him ; and after astonishing Roberespierre and the Committee of Public Safety

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by a resignation so magnanimous, that Rober-  
spierre confessed, that none but a Royalist could  
write the last lines he was to send to his wife  
and his father, in the presence of his assassins,  
&c.

Note 26. Page 87.

Charlotte Corday died for the Republic, with  
all that courage with which the Roman matrons  
astonished their Age. The Duke of Biron said  
to his judges ; *Yes, I deserve to die ; I avow my  
guilt ; but it is for having betrayed my king, and  
served his enemies.* The Duke of Orleans re-  
quested the immediate execution of the sentence  
of death pronounced against him, after boldly  
declaring to the court that condemned him ;  
*I am innocent ; but in such a Republic as yours,  
my death is necessary ; I can meet it.* Danton  
cried to the people ; *Ere six months pass, you  
will tear in pieces both the wretches who judge me,  
and the villains by whom I have been delivered o-  
ver to them. They have fettered you , and now  
assassinate you daily.* Barnave cried out incef-  
santly to the people ; *You are unworthy of free-  
dom ; I despise you too much, not to desire  
death.* Heraut de Sechelles whom his judges  
honoured with the imputation of a conspiracy  
to re-establish royalty, arrogantly replied ; *I call  
these walls to witness, that in this place, I have e-*  
ver

*ver contended against despotism and monarchy.* The Revolutionary Tribunal sits in the palace of justice; and Heraut de Sechelles had been attorney-general to the parliament of Paris. Camillus Desmoulins, died with all the fullen heroism of hardened guilt, at a time when he well knew, that his wife was to follow his fate. Gorsas maintained like fortitude. Even Grammont, who was for six days successively gorged in blood, on the 2d of September,—set an example of firmness in death to his son, after having exhibited himself to him, through life, as model of wickedness.

Note 27. Page 88.

The bitterest irony pursues the dying wretches to the very scaffold. Children of ten or twelve years of age, may be often seen to suck up the blood greedily, as it flows from the executioner's stroke.

Note 28. Page 88.

Eighty-seven daily papers are published in Paris. Every municipality in France, receives at least, two or three of these, along with a multitude of proclamations and addresses.

Note

## Note 29. Page 88.

The taking of Landrecies, a very decisive event, at the opening of the campaign, produced no emotion among the people, at Paris : But, a very considerable agitation in the Committee of Public Safety, and in the Convention.

## Note 30. Page 89.

Two thirds of those who have been taken into custody, in Paris, and in the departments, have one or two Sans-culottes appointed to keep them, and hold their persons in readiness to be forthcoming to the Committee of General Security : And to each of these keepers, they are obliged to pay six livres in the day.

## Note 31. Page 94.

*By transportation*, is to be understood the massacre of all who are condemned to undergo that punishment. The trouble is not taken, to convey them to Cayenne, or *Port-Marat* (Port Dauphin in the isle of Madagascar). They are crowded on board leaky vessels, prepared on purpose ; and then sunk. This has been done three times in the Loire. At the last *transportation*, six hundred and forty persons perished.

Note

## Note 32. Page 96.

Eleven millions, and five hundred thousand livres in gold and silver specie, were sent to Poland, in the end of February, and the beginning of March last. This fact has been acknowledged by several deputies in the Convention, and by one of the persons who had the charge of remitting this sum to Switzerland.

## Note 33. Page 98.

The Committee of Public Safety reckon so confidently upon the disunion of the belligerent powers, and upon misunderstandings among their courts; that not a day passes, on which groundless hopes of these events are not held out to the people in the newspapers; and even in the Convention. Roberespierre flatters himself, that those Princes whose dominions are the most secure from the contagion of French principles, will drop off, one by one from the alliance, as their tempers become weary of the war, or their resources are exhausted. At the opening of this campaign, he believed, that the Allies would not be able to prosecute the war through one fourth part of the season. He then thought, and said to a deputy in the Convention, who was also a member of the Committee of General Security. "*Fear, money, or*  
*" intrigue*

*"intrigue must soon detach some one or other of the Allies from this formidable combination."*

*"Our surest success, said Barrere, on the 22d of April, will arise not so much from the defeats of the Allies, as from their errors; our greatest victories will be those of which we shall say nothing."* Next day, he acknowledged to three of his intimate friends, THAT THE WAR MUST BE ENDED THIS YEAR; FOR, THE GUILLOTINE AND THE CONVENTION COULD DO NO MORE. Roberespierre says in the Committee, whenever he sends new victims to the Revolutionary Tribunal; *I am coining money.* In no age, has there been a proscription so long continued, as that of which the Revolutionary Tribunal has, for these fifteen months, been the instrument. Revolution marches with rapid strides over Europe; Universal property has been promised to the Sans-culottes of France: But, I repeat what I have already said, that *the Convention cannot withstand a fourth campaign*, nor the Revolution, two other years of war.

Note 34, and last. Page 98.

The Jacobins and the Convention are strong, chiefly in the terror with which they fancy, that they have impressed all Europe. They strive daily to persuade the people, that Sovereign Princes recognize and respect the deputies of the

the Convention, and the Constituted Authorities. Every Representative of the People, who is with the Armies, or in the Departments, has orders from the Committee of Public Safety, to encourage this opinion in the course of his mission. A scoundrel of the name of Dufourny, said in the hall of the Jacobins, in the month of January last, upon occasion of a purging scrutiny of the members of that Society: *There is not one among us, brethren and citizens, who does not, with exultation, acknowledge his confraternity with the immortal Drouet, and with those virtuous representatives whom treason has immured in dungeons. Let us not be anxious for their fate. Our enemies dare make no attempt upon their lives; for, they know that all the Kings in Europe would be made responsible for the consequences. We shall soon see again those martyrs of liberty among us.* Amar and Guffroy have held the same language in the Committee of General Security. The Jacobins think themselves more formidable than they actually are. When the nation shall cease to dread them, I venture to say, that they will then become more formidable than ever.

The Committee of Public Safety retain the power of disposing of all the resources of France, only in consequence of daily promising a speedy peace to the people, and by persuading them that those who fall on the scaffolds, are their enemies.

nemies. But, weariness and despair are universal. In the month of February, Robespierre was so terrified, that he resolved upon a general attack around the whole frontiers; and upon the most extraordinary efforts against the Allied Powers. Such efforts, the Convention cannot long continue, or renew, if obliged to pursue the war. Robespierre spares nothing, to bring it to a termination in this campaign; he must give peace and a regular government to France, against winter; otherwise, his fall is inevitable.

### III.

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*Abstract of a Pamphlet, published in answer to the preceding first part of Count Montgaillard's work ; written in French, and intituled, RASSUREZ VOUS, &c.*

THE writer of this answer, after some introductory observations, proceeds to state his objections to whatever seems favourable to the French Republicans, in what Count Montgaillard has said, in the foregoing pages, on *the system of the war, and the resources which the Allies may find within France ; on the state of La Vendee ; and on the internal condition of France.*

On *the system of the war, and the resources which the Allies may find within France for carrying it on ;* he maintains, in opposition to Count Montgaillard ;

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That



That, the military force of Paris, if hostile to the Committee of Public Safety, are sufficiently powerful to overthrow it ; that the provinces of Artois, Picardy, Brittany, and Normandy, if impatient for the restoration of the old government, would surely have risen in arms ere this time, to restore it ; that, since neither the Parisian militia, nor the maritime provinces, have as yet risen openly and decisively against the Revolutionary Government,—the Allies would therefore act imprudently, if they should alter the plan of their operations, upon any delusive views which may be held out to persuade them, that the subjects of the Republic are ready to overthrow it with their own hands.

On the state of *La Vendee*, the author of the *answer*, observes ;

That, if the force and the resolution of the insurgents in *La Vendee*, were such as M. de Montgaillard has represented them ; ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> would hardly have been reduced to their present distress ; but, in spite of any slight differences of dialect and opinions, would rather have advanced with the spreading fury of a conflagration, till all the discontented had joined them, and the Revolutionists had been destroyed. And that therefore, instead of sending a force into *La Vendee*, as M. de Montgaillard advises, the best wisdom of the Allies will be, still to pursue

sue, with steadiness and vigour, their present plans of operation.

Concerning *the internal state of France in general*; the author of the *answer* contends;

That, since thirteen hundred thousand souls have been already lost from the *population* of France, in consequence of the Revolution,—of whom an hundred thousand may be reckoned to have perished on the scaffolds, by suicide, or by want,—the rest to have fallen in war; since the republicans have eight hundred and fifty thousand men constantly in arms, as necessary to make adequate opposition to the Allies; and, since the war thus appears to consume annually about four hundred thousand men, the flower of the population of France: *Therefore*, it must be absurd to pretend, that this waste of population can be repaired during the continuance of the war, with supplies equal to so prodigal a consumption of human lives:

That the *agriculture* of France must unquestionably be in a declining state, for want of hands; as all the young peasants between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, have in the course of these two years, been under *requisition* for the army; since the husbandmen who were left to till the ground, could not prosecute cheerfully, those labours of which the fruits were still ravished from them by *requisitions*; and since the

the greater number of those who have been left at home, have been attracted to the towns from time to time, and have been employed in the innumerable offices of the executive government ;

That such numbers of *horses and oxen* have been consumed during these two years in the service of the armies, and of the posts ; and the breeding or importation of others, to supply the consumption, has been so entirely hindered ; as to leave it impossible, that France, which was never eminently well supplied with beasts for draught or burthen, should, *even at this time*, have enough of horses and oxen for the service at once, of husbandry, of interior carriages, of the posts, and of the armies :

That the scarcity of *lambs and sheep* was very great, before those decrees were passed, which forbade them to be farther consumed ; as is expressed in the very decrees referred to, and in the fact, that these animals are weighed alive, and then committed to the *keeping* only, of those who are, in right, their proprietors ; for which reasons, nothing but extreme and uncomfortable parsimony of *clothing*, can make the supplies of this article furnished to the French by internal manufacture, to hold out, as M. de Montgaillard supposes that they may, till the year 1796 :

That

That the ostentatious *indifference* which the Revolutionary rulers of France express, for the interests of *commerce*, has already ruined the vine-districts; reducing the peasants to such distress,—particularly in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux,—that, after consuming such wild herbs as afford any nourishment, they lay themselves down in despair, and to their children's cries, for bread, can only answer, *dear infants, we must die; it is God's will!* While the traffic of ~~exportation~~ fraudulently carried on for the benefit of members of the Convention, shews that they are not indifferent to the profits of trade; and the efforts which they are said to make, in order to create a new naval force, seem to prove, that they will continue to lavish the resources of their country, till these shall be wholly exhausted, as well upon their navigation, as upon their armies:

That, those *factions* which rend the Convention, prevail no less in the administrative bodies; and through every class, and every subordinate community of citizens within the Empire:

That the want of *leather, soap, and tallow*, and the extraordinary scarcity of oil, beer, and brandy, are singularly strong proofs of the exhausted condition of France; as most of these things were formerly produced or manufactured within

within the kingdom, in the greatest abundance :

That, if *famine* have not yet reduced the inhabitants of France to the necessity of accepting such terms of peace, as the Allies are willing to grant ; the chief reason of this, is to be found in the indefatigable vigilance, and the merciless cruelty of the Republican rulers ; under the terrour of which, the people submit to die by inches—of hunger, rather than utter murmurs, which would be instantly silenced by the stroke of the *Guillotine* :

That, the *unity of sentiment* with which all the *Revolutionary Societies* in France have hitherto concurred with their demagogues, for the prosecution of the war, has been the true cause of their successes, and is the only ground of the stability of their power ; but depending on an enthusiasm, which is, by its nature transient, must speedily be dissolved into the most furious discord ; which will ensure the success of the Allies, if they can only be induced to conduct their counsels with more perfect unity of designs, and consistency of measures, than they have hitherto discovered :

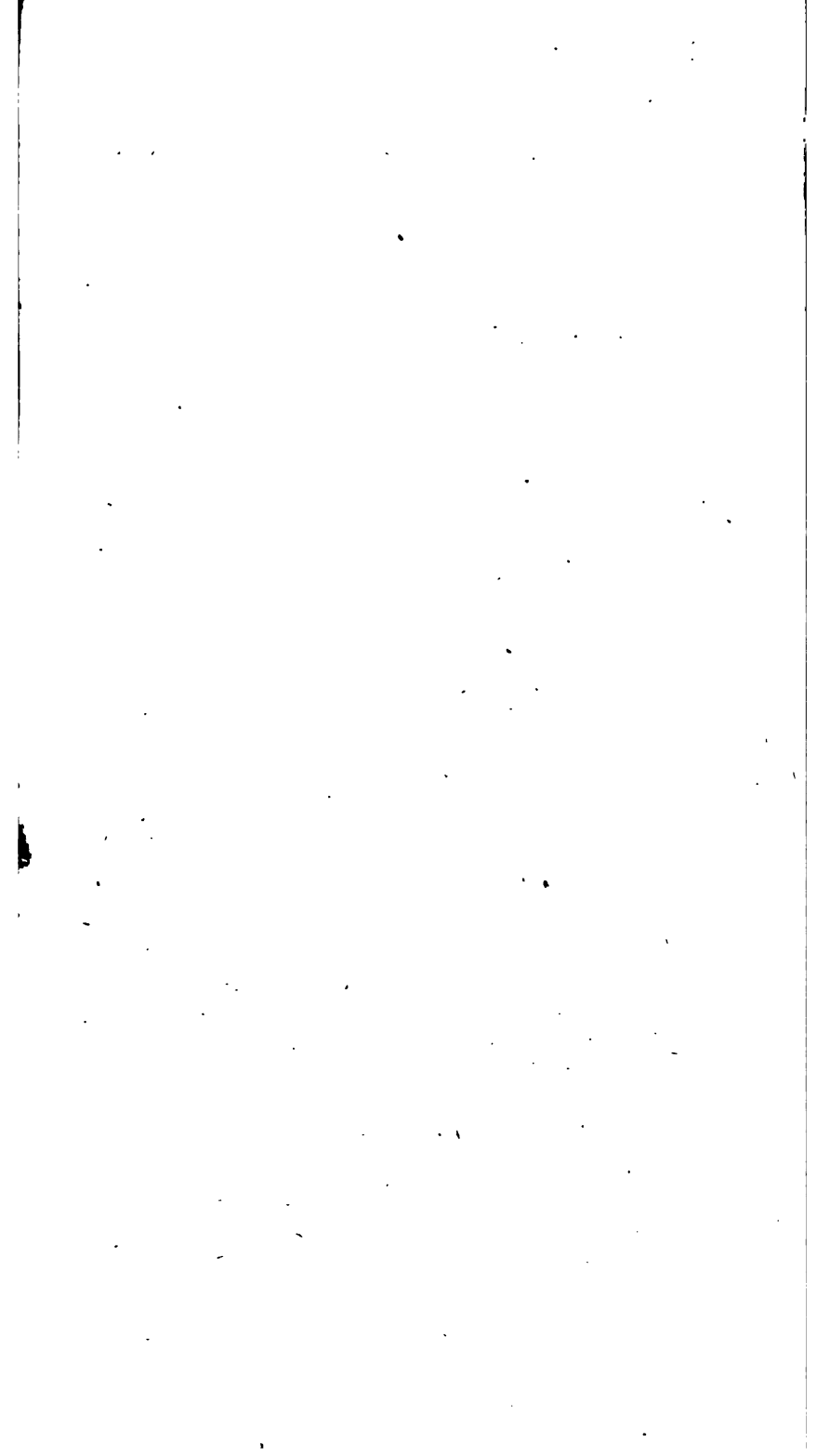
That *Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety*, strong only in the strength of the Revolutionary Societies, must lose the confidence of those societies, and inevitably perish, whenever they

they shall appear to have departed from the genuine principles of the Jacobins, and shall openly aim at the establishment of a tyranny centered in a few persons.

IN THE WHOLE, this writer seems to conclude, that, wherever M. de Montgaillard may have appeared, in the preceding work, to contradict, by representations favourable to the Revolutionary Government of France, those other facts in his narrative, which imply the strength of the country to be exhausted, and the Revolutionary Government to totter already on the brink of final ruin : Those representations are incorrect, and have been, at least incautiously and in mistake, if not with dishonest intentions, exhibited to the public, by Montgaillard.

M. de Montgaillard, soon after, published the second part of his work, of which a translation follows.

#### IV.



#### IV.

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*SECOND PART of, or Sequel to COUNT MONTGAILLARD'S Account of the State of France, in the Month of May last.*

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

**I**N confideration of the notice which the work, intituled *State of France in the Month of May last*, has obtained from the public ; of the enquiries to which it has given rise ; and of the questions which have been put to myself, since its publication, by several respectable persons : I think it my duty to add some articles of farther information, to what I have already communicated in that work.

I shall not take the trouble of either explaining or refuting those contradictions, not less absurd than unfair, which unfaithful translators

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pretend



pretend to have found in my former publication \*. When readers or translators, do not understand the French language, or do not chuse to understand it ; when they join together parts of different phrases ; when they alter expressions, or torture them out of their true meaning ; it is, by such arts, as easy, as it is basely wicked, to find out contradictions even in the most solemn and unambiguous truth. It requires however, as much of partiality for guilt, as of propensity to falsehood,—to enable any person to assert, that the terms *Villain*, *Affassin*, *Tyrant*, &c. names synonymous with the appellation of *deputy in the National Convention*,—are not correctly applicable to the present rulers of France.

As the translator of the *State of France &c.* (L. Wilkinson) has shewn at least, so much honesty, as to inform the public, that his translation was executed without my knowledge or approbation : I shall take no farther notice of his criticism or observations.

Explanations have been requested from me, by persons whose information and abilities I respect.

\* The Count refers here, to a very imperfect translation of the first part of his work, by a Mr Lucock Wilkinson of one of the Inns of Court, and to others retailed in the newspapers.

spect. Those explanations will be found, I flatter myself, in the present work.

I make no answer to the criticism on my former part, basely artful, while it wears an air of moderation,—which has been published in a work intituled *Rassurez Vous*. But, to its author, I would observe, that the very title of his publication, shews that he and I entertain diametrically opposite opinions, concerning the present political situation of Europe.

The general security of all Europe, was perhaps never more in danger, than at present. I have endeavoured to shew the greatness, and the imminency of the general danger. Concerning the instruments of mischief in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety; I have stated that they are formidable; but, have at the same time, allowed the resources of the Allies to be much more powerful: I have urged the necessity of guarding against error in the choice of measures: I have asserted the extermination of the Jacobins to be necessary to the tranquillity of the world. I add, that he must be the enemy of human society, who shall say, *Rassurez Vous*, (make yourselves easy), before the danger be dispelled; and this certainly cannot be the purpose of the anonymous author above-mentioned.

I have no doubt, but the same writer, with the help of some insidious hints, unfair quotations, and artfully chosen occasions of silence, may find, in this second part of my work, abundant matter for another effusion of his calumny. For, I still repeat what I have before advanced, as an opinion generally received in France, that the efforts of La Vendee might have the fullest success, if they could obtain speedy succours, and one of the Princes of France to command them : But, the author of *Ressurez Vous*, seems not to relish this opinion.

This author, who is exceedingly ill-informed concerning the internal state of France, of Paris especially ; not satisfied with finding nothing but contradictions through my whole work ; has the goodness to attribute to me, and to combat as mine, those contradictory appearances which daily arise from the events of the French Revolution,—those inconsistent measures which mark the conduct of the Jacobins,—and those contrarieties of sentiment and conduct, which are known to be natural to the French character. All the events which have taken place in France, within these last five years, concur to prove what I have advanced. Had this writer read, or chosen to recollect the printed debates of the Jacobins, he would have known, that the language which he pretends that I have fictitiously

tiously put into their mouths, is faithfully copied from their journals. Whatever ignorance he may pretend to, he cannot but know that the populace of all countries, have been at all times prone to believe things the most absurd, and the most self-contradictory.

In respect to the intentions which the author of the work intituled *Rassurez Vous*, with obliging malignity ascribes to me; I should have given him an answer to what he has said upon this head; if he had produced any shadow of proof in support of his assertions; or had made known his name, as some pledge, that he was well assured of the truth of what he advanced.

I write solely with a view to serve the common cause. I should have allowed, that the *smooth calumny* of his criticism, might have proceeded from the same motives; if he had not come forward in a manner, which by the laws of literary controversy, absolves me from the necessity of making a reply.

There may be men, the hypocrisy of whose friendship, or their perfidious selfishness, may have hoped to find means to injure me,—in the earnestness with which I have ever striven to serve my king and my country; there may be intriguers, who, to raise their own importance, would attack me, on the side of vanity and regard to my reputation; on the one hand, flatter-

tering me with lavish praise : and on the other, giving out, that I am not the author of the work which has appeared under my name : I *must confess*, that such men have good reasons for *calling* themselves my friends ; while they *act* as my enemies.

They hate me, because I have ever rejected their principles with abhorrence. They have put words in my mouth which I never uttered ; they have propagated lessons as coming from me, which I never gave ; they have emitted narratives in my name, of which I am not the author ; and adding absurdity to malignity, they have made a calumnious mis-interpretation of my very silence, when they could not torture my words to their purpose. I well know, that those men cannot forgive me, for refusing to insert in my former work, prospects of peace ; favourable, no doubt, to the purposes of their ambition ; but hostile equally to sound policy, and to the security of the nations of Europe. They will yet, more obstinately remember, that, regardless of all private considerations, I refused to ascribe to the unfortunate French, a general attachment to the constitution of 1789, which has now no votaries remaining, save among its first authors.

I have asserted, that the French nation, intoxicated with those notions of their own sovereignty,

reignty, which were instilled into them, by their first legislators ; had remained fixed in their attachment to the constitution of 1789, till the end of the year 1792 ; at which period, the tyranny of the Convention finally undeceived the people, in regard to the errors of the Constituent National Assembly. The federalist armies opposed the progress of the royalists of La Vendée. The neighbouring departments were held in suspense. A diversity of parties, at that time, hindered the discontented from joining the only party, which all now regret, that they did not embrace. The Convention has crushed those factions which sprang up, within its own bosom ; and their miseries have at last opened the eyes of the nation, to the imperfections of that constitution by which these miseries have been produced. They loudly condemn it, as the source of their slavery and wretchedness. Excepting only the vanity of some citizens of the capital ; the general opinion gives to the old government, the preference above the constitution of 1789.

This I shall ever continue to maintain. It may draw upon me, new calumnies. But, proud of suffering any personal inconveniencies, while serving the cause in which I have the honour to be engaged ; I shall only feel myself animated with new courage, and with additional

nal motives, to make public any truths which I may know, that shall promise to be useful to the common cause. My heart tells me, that I can never prove unfaithful to the cause of my KING.

STATE

# STATE OF FRANCE,

IN THE

*MONTH OF MAY, 1794.*

## PART SECOND.

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I Have already explained to the public, the system of the organization of the present tyrannical government of France. But, in that rapid sketch of wickedness so enormous; I was obliged to crowd many things into one groupe; of which a more particular and enlarged detail will be useful, to convey a more distinct and impressive knowledge of the present state of that unhappy kingdom, and of the remaining resources of its destroyers. This detail, I now unfold, with fidelity and precision.

I said, that the Committee of Public Safety, could not resist the Allies for two other campaigns, but were in hopes of compelling those Powers to agree to a peace, against the ensuing  
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winter. In the month of March last, they had little hopes of those successes which have since crowned their arms. They, however, believed the Allies to be weary of the war, unable to continue it, ill informed, and divided among themselves. They boasted of having sent out emissaries, and fomented discontents, through all parts of the dominions of their enemies. But, their propositions for peace, had been rejected in Italy; and in Germany, could not gain a hearing. The Allies advanced towards the capital of the republic. Powerful enemies arose against the revolutionary rulers, within their own Departments. They dreaded, that tyranny and despair, might at last, excite a general insurrection. They then heaped multitude after multitude of victims, upon the scaffolds; and drove herd after herd, to join the armies. On one side, they withdrew their magazines within the walls of Peronne and Compiègne; while, on the other, they prepared to execute those projects of invasion, at the success of which, they are now themselves astonished. But, their first hope was, only to make a long diversion in those provinces, in which they have since gained triumphs, and stores for subsistence.

The bloody reins of the revolutionary government, had almost dropped from the hands of  
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the Committee of Public Safety. At Paris, and through the provinces, the general cry was; "Let the Convention themselves march, in a mass, to the armies; let them put themselves at our head; then will we follow them to the frontiers!" Weariness and discontent, feigning the voice of civism, uttered those words in the very hall of the Convention.

Eleven deputies, and seven generals,—the leaders of the revolutionary army, or principal members of the administration for war, and of the common-council of Paris,—expired on the scaffold. The people, with trembling, applauded the punishment; and the Convention resigned itself to the controul of Robespierre. With the laws of the nation under his feet, and its force in his hands, he poured his innumerable and destructive armies upon West Flanders. It becomes the prey of the invaders: the banners of the tyrant, wave on the Rhine, and on the Scheldt: the frontiers of Holland hardly bound the French Empire; in three months, he undoes the work of three years.

I shall not here, enquire into the causes of the success of the Committee of Public Safety; but I will set down whatever remains, to be added, in order to compleat the account of the fears, resources, and crimes of the republicans. All the real authority of the revolutionary government,

vernment, is virtually in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety. The Committee of General Security, receives, and executes *its* orders. The former of these Committees acquired its present power, upon the ruin of Brissot's party, and the abolition of his Committee of twelve. It has enjoyed this power, uncontested, ever since the impeachment of Chabot and Bazire, and the entirely new organization of the Committee of General Security; which had then a decisive influence upon the deliberations of the legislative body. Since that period, the Committee of General Security, has made none but some feeble efforts to regain its former authority. It obeys, without remonstrance, the orders of the Committee of Public Safety; by which its members have their powers renewed, are dismissed, or are impeached; and whose orders have never yet been, in any one instance, countermanded, or disapproved by the Convention.

The imprisonment of unfortunate individuals at the command of the Committee of General Security; the infliction of punishment, and the distribution of rewards to informers, by the orders of this Committee; and the immense multiplicity of the official business, necessary for reporting so many murders, and false pretences; may have led the remote, or imperfectly informed

informed observer, into a different opinion upon this head. The great importance which the Committee of General Security has, by the necessity of circumstances, acquired and retained; may have induced some to imagine, that it possessed a share of the supreme authority. But, it is merely an instrument in the hands of a power higher than itself, whose mandate for their punishment, every one of its members continually dreads. The first title of the new revolutionary code, clearly indicates the powers intrusted to the Committee of General Security. The successive events of more than seven months, had fully evinced their implicit submission to the Committee of Public Safety, at the time when I left France.

I have related, that 850,000 fighting men, obey the orders of this sovereign Committee. There are, between Huningue and Dunkirk, 360,000; in La Vendée, and along the coasts of the ocean, 110,000; on the shores of the Mediterranean, 50,000; the army of the Alps, consists of 80,000 men; that of the Pyrenees and the south, amounts to 90,000. About 35,000 are stationed at Compiegne, and in the districts of Orleans, and Chartres; a force which seems to be reserved for the security of the Convention; and which maintains the obedience of the six and twenty districts lying around

round Paris,—and enforces the execution of urgent *requisitions*. The remaining 130,000 men, are scattered through the different departments, and incorporated with the national guard (or militia).

The greater part of the internal force is unarmed (1). In almost all the towns, the requisite service is performed with pikes and lances. The sections of Paris, are daily required to send their muskets to the armies; and the Committee had very great difficulty, last year, to arm one half of the citizens of the first requisition. The most arbitrary abstractions of arms have been made; the most disadvantageous bargains for them, have been contracted; and 36 millions of livres have been established as a constant fund in Switzerland, for the purchase of this most indispensable article in war.

The sum total of the men who have been enrolled, or put under requisition, since the first of January 1792, including the former army, such as it then was, and of which, scarcely a fourth part now survives,—amounts to 1,1778,000 men: 119,000 did not join; 53,000 have deserted; 167,000 have died in the hospitals; 610,000 have fallen in battle, or have been made prisoners: 1660 have been condemned to death, by military commissions, or by the revolutionary tribunals.

Of

Of the above force, 103,000 men have been furnished by the city of Paris. Forty-three thousand were sent to the plains of Chalons; of whom, not more than 28,000 survived to revisit their own homes. Since that time, and within the space of eighteen months, there have been thirty-one legions sent out; of which seventeen were cavalry, consisting of about 1000 men each. Three levies raised, either by voluntary patriotism, or in consequence of the impression of terror, — 25,500 men who were sent successively, against La Vendee. They cost the Convention 63 millions of livres. Carriages of different sorts conveyed about 13,000 of those men into Poitou, with unexampled celerity. The first requisition produced from the capital, 28,600 men; but of these, a fifth part fled, or obtained exemptions, by interest or money.

Paris is perhaps no longer in a condition to furnish a succession of such supplies. That city has lost 56,200 men: of these 2,164 have perished out of one section (2); about 6000 men of the Parisian levies, returned, in open disobedience to the strictest orders to the contrary. Nothing could prevail with these last, to join their corps again; they chose rather to maim their limbs, that they might be unfit for the service.

After

After these deductions, the Allies have 560,000 effective men immediately opposed to them. Among these may be reckoned, 50, or 55 thousand cavalry. But this force of cavalry are in general, very ill-mounted, and very indifferently supplied with necessaries. To furnish them with sabres, it became necessary to issue an order, requiring all citizens, under very severe penalties, to bring into their respective municipalities, all steel-blades in their possession, which exceeded seven and twenty inches in length. The levy of a horse, and a soldier to serve on horseback, from every *commonalty*, which was decreed in September last, was not carried into complete and final execution within five months subsequent, notwithstanding the activity of thirty-five representatives of the people, to whom the charge of enforcing its execution, was intrusted. It afforded, out of all France, not more than 18,600 cavalry. There are no cavalry remaining within the departments. Paris retains only 900 men serving on horseback; whose business is, to escort persons condemned, to the scaffold, and to serve as a guard, and as messengers to the Convention and the courts of justice. The temper of these men at arms, is very bad and dangerous; but they are entirely at the command of the Committee of Public Safety.

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The troops of the Republic, are, in general, ill-clothed, and ill-fed. They have higher pay than any other troops in Europe. The generals and other officers, have enormous appointments; and most of them extort exorbitant exactions. The soldiers are in want of various articles of prime necessity in a campaign,—especially linens, and shoes. Diseases occasioned by the fatigue of forced marches, and by excessive intemperance and debauchery, make great havock among them. They are, for the most part, very negligently attended in the numerous hospitals established within the kingdom, for the reception of the sick and wounded. Thirty-three thousand men of the first requisition, died within five weeks. That requisition were with the armies, or in garrisoned towns, without shoes or linen; and a part of them, had come from their homes, without clothes (3). The soldiers of the requisitions, committed every where, a multitude of devastations, which none dared oppose. They imposed laws on the Constituted Authorities; demanded and obtained 45 sols in the day, from the day of their inscription, to that of their arrival at the army; and repaired to their respective places of destination in the service, one by one, and in a manner, at their own pleasure. To persuade them to set out, it was promised, that they should be required to

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serve only within the territories of the Republic ; and should not be employed on the frontiers, till after a year of exercises and encampment. They very soon dispersed themselves ; and most of them sold those accoutrements with which they were furnished for the service, upon their demands from the Convention. At last, very many of them loudly declared, that, if forced to fight, they would instantly desert to the enemy.

The clothing and equipment of a foot-soldier, cost 360 livres ; of a soldier in the cavalry, 1450. The great difficulty of completing the levies, renders it necessary to allow the troops of the line of battle, still to use an uniform, which policy and equality alike suggest the propriety of laying aside. The nation takes upon itself, the expence of equipping the new raised soldiers. The volunteer and the soldier of requisition, both receive, before setting out to join the army, a gratification of about two hundred livres. Citizens who are rich, or in easy circumstances, are obliged by the Committees or Commonalties, to furnish money for those gratifications.

Military discipline, is not, in the armies of the Convention, that passive obedience, that blind execution of orders, that habitual and impatient desire for glory, which constitute the strength

strength and union of the Allied armies. Through the strong towns, in the camp, and among the armies, equality and the spirit of pillage, predominate over every military principle. All the generals, from Dumourier to Pichegru, have termed themselves, generals of the *Sans-culottes*, and have, in fact, become such. But, with what respect can the soldiers be impressed? With what esteem can they be brought to regard military discipline,—by a succession of generals and other officers; selected, for the most part, from among the lowest of the people; disgraced by the basest vices (4); and from being scoffed by the hiffes of a club, proceeding to receive a commission of command at the War-office? They repair to the armies, excite them to pillage, and share the spoils, then, within six months, perish on the scaffold.

The soldiers obey these officers on the day of battle: but their obedience cannot always be depended upon; and is given rather to the representatives of the people, than to their officers. When not engaged in the field of battle, they intimidate their officers, blame, and denounce them. Scarcely is there one whose dismissal they do not, at one time or another, demand and obtain. Delinquencies purely of a military nature, cannot be punished without the employing of all the address and cautious management  
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of weakness operating upon power. The courts of judgment are almost always obliged to add counter-revolutionary intention to military delinquency,—to prevent the soldiers from murmurs or absolute revolt.

But, for these last five months, the military discipline has been becoming more exact and rigorous ; for, within this time, the armies have been every day less and less, under the exclusive command of their generals and officers. Representatives constantly present with them, have brought them still more and more into a direct dependence upon the Convention ; and have thus saved the latter from the danger in which it at first was, of being overturned by the defection of the generals. That assembly have not forgotten that their reign had not been prolonged to this time ; if the feeble and worthless La Fayette, who was never more than the mere tool of his army, had not wanted sufficient resolution to dissolve them.

The National Convention will never forget, that Dumourier dictated laws to them for a time ; and that they must have been dismissed from their authority ; if that intriguer had done what he was able, and what he ought—to have done ; or if he had known precisely what his own ambition was driving at. In consequence of his misconduct, that grand era in the revolution,

tion, which might have proved fatal to the villainous usurpers of the French government, served only to introduce a darker and more bloody tyranny. The name of Dumourier has ever since, been in France, a watchword for numberless and unceasing accusations of treason, and for all the cruelties to which those accusations, by natural consequence, lead. The *bustler* still *teizes fame*, and will not enjoy in peace, that quiet obscurity to which she has consigned him.

There is every reason for believing the Convention alone to be the authors of that wasting pillage which devours every thing upon the routes of the French armies. The soldiers conquer; and then the Convention plunders. It is the *Law* or the *Revolutionary spirit* which conducts a plan of unsparing robbery, that, like a conflagration, consumes all that falls within its power. Could we possibly despair of the safety of Europe, and suppose the French Republic likely to obtain farther successes: Should their arms conquer, and retain possession of Holland: Then might the National Convention flatter themselves with the hope of accomplishing their most extravagant projects; and aspire to conquer and lay waste the earth!

It appears, that the extraordinary vigilance of the Convention; and the many commissaries employed by their ruling Committee, must hence-

forth render it extremely difficult for their generals to betray them, or for those considerable defections of their troops to take place, which they have often dreaded. Nay, the number of deserters from the armies, is, even now, smaller than all appearances would lead us to expect; which is owing to an opinion very industriously propagated and kept up, by the Agents of Democratic tyranny.

They endeavour, every where, to persuade the soldiers raised by requisition, that they cannot hope protection from the Allied Powers; that they would be sent to distant parts of the dominions of those Powers, and there employed forcibly in hard labour, and not allowed adequate means of subsistence; that their former lords and officers would not accept their services, nor grant forgiveness to their remorse; that they would be for ever divided from their countrymen, and covered with eternal disgrace; that all who betray their country, must, one day or another, perish in the mines, in the prisons, or by the fatigue of the basest services of labour.

The treatment which is represented to the soldiers in the French camps, to be now used towards their former officers, even by the Allied Powers; makes those soldiers dread a similar fate, and urges them still to fight under banners which many would no doubt forsake, if they better

better knew the real dispositions of the Allies; and would be persuaded to seek on the frontiers, the remission of their errors, pardon for the wrongs they have done, and association with moderate and generous Frenchmen; with whom they might range themselves under the banners of their King. I know those calumnies to be continually diffused and renewed with the most incessant and artful industry. In every section, and every popular society, they are, every week, in the order of the day. So necessary have false pretences appeared to the fears of the Committee of Public Safety! So powerful an aid do they afford to Revolutionary tyranny!

It was worthy of the English Government, to refute those calumnies, to calm those fears, to satisfy those hopes, by embodying the legions, that now raise on the frontiers, the *white flag*; the greatest and noblest proclamation that could be emitted; the only one of which the publication cannot be hindered from becoming known to the French, by the tyrants who now oppress them.

Such were the temper and spirit of the thirteen armies of the Convention; such, their discipline; such the number of their soldiers on the fifteenth of April last, as represented in the statements of the different Committees. I do

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not suppose their numbers to have been since augmented with more than 50,000 men.

I SHALL next lead my readers to examine, what other forces the Convention can yet raise to augment those; what farther resources the Committee may hope to derive from new requisitions.

The Citizens of France, married and bachelors, have been divided into four classes, subject to four several requisitions; the first class comprehending those between 18 and 25 years of age; the second, those between 25 and 35; the third, those between 35 and 45; the fourth, those between 45 and 60.

The first of these requisitions, was exhausted. It should have produced, out of all France, about 836,000 men. But, more than one sixth part of those subject to that requisition, evaded it by flight, or by change of condition, or abode. The departments in insurrection against the Convention, kept back, about 45,000 men. Besides, all that part which came to be furnished out of the nobility, has been rejected, as well from employment in the armies, as from all civil functions, for these last four months; with the exception only of some particular individuals, whose abilities and guilt have exempted them from the exclusion. The levy of that requisition, excited murmurs, raised insurrections, and called about 25,000 men into the insurgent districts. A considerable

siderable part of the soldiers thus raised, are still unarmed ; although the Convention granted 286 millions to be laid out in raising them, beside their pay till they join the army.

The second requisition is expected to afford 480,000 men; the third is estimated at 630,000; the fourth, 370,000 ; as in the two last of these requisitions, married men, having not more than two children, are to be included. The statements of population sent from all the municipalities to the Military Committee, and that of Public Safety, in the months of December and January last, sufficiently evince the correctness of the above estimates.

It was in contemplation, in March last, to call out the second requisition, and hold it in readiness for recruiting the armies, and for interior service. But, it was feared, that such a measure might occasion a general insurrection of the People ; so that the Committee durst not pass the decree. They were obliged to contradict, some time after, the report of their intention, which had gone abroad. There is now reason to believe that the terror which has been generally impressed by the numberless executions, may enforce, at least a partial execution of the decree by which those levies shall be ordered. In France, the general persuasion is, that they will not raise more than 25,000 men ; because most of the towns



in which a military force is maintained, have already contributed even all the married men in them. Besides, eight departments, in the centre, and in the West, have suffered so much by inroads from La Vendee, that they could afford hardly any recruits to the army. And, in fourteen departments of the East, the South, and the North, one-half of the Citizens, under the age of forty, have been already obliged to march against the enemy. We may therefore confidently conclude, that two-fifths of the second requisition have already been tacitly but effectively levied. Should the tyrants have occasion to levy the remainder of this requisition; it will be impossible to raise them sooner than in January; nor is it probable, that the whole of this force can be equipped, armed, and brought to action, before the month of July, next year.

The third and fourth requisitions are to be considered as a general mass. But, in the supposition of their being raised, the whole effective men of the country would then march together; and none would remain behind, but children, old men, women, and prisoners.

Would the inhabitants of the towns, march, in a mass, to the frontiers? Would they advance against one or more of the Allied Powers? Such an event is, in my opinion, much to be wished for, by the Allies, but can never happen. Some

of the towns might indeed be driven by famine, and severity of punishment, to rise in a mass, and march out to join the armies. But there is every reason to believe, that such efforts could be of little real service to the Republic, and would endanger the safety of the Convention, by the disorder and confusion, with which they would be attended. The Committee of Public Safety will not, unless in the last extremity, employ this resource; the insufficiency, the confusion, and the danger of which, they cannot but foresee. They dread to see great numbers assembled together; they could not hide their uneasiness between the time when the requisition of Paris was mustered, and that of its setting out to the army. They were obliged to repeat the order for that requisition, six different times; and when that force was raised, which openly threatened their authority, to send it out of the capital in small detachments, and by different roads.

A general levy would require so much ammunition, and such vast magazines; it would demand such a harmony of purposes, and such unity of views, so willing a submission, and such a readiness to make every necessary sacrifice; that the very attempt would imply the most extravagant madness. It would be the frenzy of tyranny, and would consummate its ruin. So

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great and so general is the weariness of the war, throughout France, that a decree ordering a general levy, would inevitably produce a general insurrection. Four months since, even the Committee of Public Safety could scarcely venture to assure themselves, that such would not be the effect of the rigorous levy of the third requisition.

There is not a single family that has not the fate of a victim to weep, or of a prisoner to fear. There is no family that has not furnished, already, either a soldier or a waggoner, upon requisition. There is none in which discontent has not risen to its height. The Convention flatter themselves with the idea of confounding all Europe with terror (5). They strive to alarm their neighbours with the dread of the same general conquest and devastation with which the Roman Empire was anciently overwhelmed by Barbarians. But, although we should suppose the nation's patience under slavery, to be equal to the bloody despotism of their tyrants: even in this case, it seems almost certain, that the Committee of Public Safety will not be able to raise and arm other five hundred thousand men out of all France; that they cannot be able to add more than two hundred and sixty thousand men to their present force, for the space of one year yet to come; nor to send above

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an hundred and twenty thousand men to the frontiers before the month of December first ensuing.

To give a just idea of the effect produced by the levies in masses, I relate the following fact. In the month of July, last year, fifteen districts, and nineteen towns were called upon, to march against La Vendee. Two hundred and thirty thousand men forsook their homes, and advanced to the banks of the Loire. A third part of this mass, dropped off before the end of the second day's march: Not one half reached Tours; and only 48,000 could be induced by every means of constraint and persuasion, to keep the field for seventeen days together. Not a twelfth part of this force, was full-armed: Nineteen thousand died of sickness; eight and twenty thousand were slain by the Royalists whom they could not overcome; and at least seven thousand deserted. Yet, all were obliged either to march, or to undergo the most cruel treatment: and the towns had been declared responsible for the conduct of all their inhabitants. The miserable deserters returned to their own homes, in disregard of the orders of the Commissaries of the Executive Power; spreading, wherever they came, the terror of the Royalists, and hatred against the Convention.

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It may be confidently asserted, that the raising of the people in a mass, would afford, even now, a result more favourable to the allied powers, than the above was to La Vendee. And this appears the more probable, when it is considered, that the plan for a levy in a mass, was agitated, for three whole months, last winter, in five Committees of the Convention. It was, after all, rejected by a majority so great, as to render it improbable that the idea should be soon revived and determined upon.

But, the Convention hope, at every movement of their armies, to stop the farther progress of their enemies. Almost all those towns of which the population exceeds, in the interior parts of the empire, 15,000 souls,—on the frontiers 4,000, have been declared fortified places by the orders of the representatives of the people; and there is scarcely any town which their ignorance and tyranny do not incline them to fortify. Enormous sums have been appropriated to this foolish purpose, in the labours necessary to which, the very women and children are employed. All the small towns in Artois, Flanders, and Picardy, have been surrounded with pallisades; and innumerable redoubts have been unskilfully thrown up. The canal at St Omer's has been fortified by lines reaching between that city and Aire. Peronne has been covered with works;

works; and Compiègne surrounded with an intrenched camp: A considerable quantity of artillery has been likewise fixed there. The erection of works, has been ordered at Mantes, at Chartres, and at Beauvais; at Rheims, Soissons, and Laon: Saumur, Angers, Tours, and Orleans, have been adjudged to be under siege, for a year past; and mines have been driven for the destruction of all the bridges over the Loire, whenever necessity may require. All the small towns of Anjou, Maine, and Poitou have been fortified: There is hardly a petty village in the interior provinces, however far from the present scenes of the war, which has not a military Commander,—and trenches drawn round it. The heights contiguous to Paris, are loaded with such works as would scarcely protect the Convention against the insurrection of a neighbouring village (6). In the city of St Denis, vile and gully in the eyes of the Republicans, for having so long been the repository of the remains of the Kings of France, which nothing but force could compel it to surrender;—St Denis has become the armoury, mart, and hospital of the Republic. There, its contractors carry on that traffic, the immense profits of which always lead to a speedy death by the hands of the executioner.

All the apparatus of terror, however exaggerated in the accounts of the proceedings of the Convention, cannot secure this body either from terrors of their own, or from bold reflections on the part of the people. These decide the work of their own hands, and know as well as their tyrants, that the genuine force of the Republic, is on the frontiers, and its weakness around the capital; that there is a want of arms and ammunition; and that the requests for arms, made by the towns, are daily refused and applauded (7).

The Committee of Public Safety constantly direct their views to the abolition of debts, and to the Agrarian Laws,—or the distribution of the lands among the people. The Committees for agriculture and legislation, daily add new articles to the code of laws, which is intended to consolidate and fix the conquest of the territory of France, and which violates all these laws which have been consecrated by the usages of all nations, the faith of all contracts, and the possession of many ages. Cambaceres, even astonished his fellows by the immorality of this code; and it has therefore been received without opposition, as the fundamental law of property, in the French Republic. Regulations made within these last five months, in the three Committees, fix the extent of a farm, at 80 arpents;

~~perit~~; declare one farm to be the portion of land sufficient for every family; and confine the moveable property of industry, to an hundred thousand livres. A revenue of ten thousand livres has been taken, as the maximum of private fortunes. But, these arrangements are not to be finally decreed, till a measurement of the whole territory of France, its registration in the great book, and the seizure of the property and titles of all individuals, which has been resolved upon, shall have put in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, means for creating to themselves, by gratuitous concessions, a strong mass of partisans, who may be able to resist and repel the dissatisfaction of the labourers, farmers, and old proprietors. The wickedness of the tyrants, acts with such foresight, that they have sold the property of the emigrants, in large masses, and in direct violation of their own laws, ~~selling the lots to five arpents~~; with the design of reserving the property thus sold, after the price shall have contributed to the expence of the war, and the purchaser shall have exhausted his exertions in the defence of that which he is not to enjoy. With the exception of some few ~~arpents~~ round Paris, which have been divided among these commonalties which are the most violent Revolutionists; the national property has been always sold in large lots.



The Republic does not derive from the sales of the national property, a return adequate to the apparent value of the things sold. Much of the country has been laid absolutely waste; and the most enormous dilapidations are every where carried on. Forests are cut down; moveables of all sorts, are sold at the lowest price. A very small part of the produce of the sales, is paid into the treasuries of the districts; the rest being greedily and fraudulently intercepted by the administrators, for private uses. Covetous and dishonest Commissioners swarm through all France. These are soon hurried into prisons, and replaced by successive multitudes of similar blood-suckers, who eagerly grasp that plunder of which another race is soon to strip them. From one end of the kingdom to the other, there seems to be an emulation between the robbery of the administrators, and that of the deputies; and the former give themselves up to the most disgraceful debauchery, as well as the latter. The most precious articles of moveable property, become their prey; the furniture abstracted from the palaces of the Royal family, is piled up in careless profusion, in the halls of the Committees at the Thuilleries, in the offices of the administrative bodies, and in those sumptuous houses which the deputies purchase with the spoils of the people, but always under borrowed names.

Verfailles,

10 Versailles, in which virtue, beneficence, and the fine arts, were betrayed together, has now no palace, and but few inhabitants (8.) Its castle is gradually destroyed by the department, and the popular societies. The avenues have been cut down, the leaden works carried away, a part of the railing broken. Those paintings which were the admiration of Europe, are destroyed. Nothing but the statues of marble; the representations of perfect grace and beauty; and those of heroic monuments of the victories of Lewis the Great; has, of all the ornaments of the famous gardens of Versailles, withstood, hitherto, the ravages of rapine and barbarism. It should seem, that the arm of villainy is unnerved, when opposed by the genius of Lewis the Fourteenth.

110 To Chantilly, nothing now remains, but the glory of a name connected with that of the great *Genie*, a name still dreaded by the Revolutionists; and transmitted from age to age by a race of heroes. That retreat of glory, pleasure, and art, divested of all its ancient splendour, is nothing more than a dreary prison, in which those are confined, who dare to regret the virtues, and the greatness of its princes. It has long been filled with prisoners.

120 Sacred edifices; royal palaces; the houses belonging to the princes; all the offices of the old administration, and of the trading companies; a great

a great part of the *hotels* and other principal houses in Paris, and almost all the other towns in France; have been given up to the Constituted Authorities, and to the popular societies, or set apart for manufactories of arms and ammunition, or for other Revolutionary purposes. All these things which the Convention has been obliged to appropriate to public uses, have greatly impaired the value and the produce of the forfeited property. I may venture to assert, upon the authority of documents furnished by the three Committees upon the National Domains, that *the total estimated value of the national property*, amounted, on the first of April last, nearly to eight thousand millions; that the saleable part of that property, was valued at six thousand and two hundred millions; and that the debts upon it, exclusive of those of the clergy, amounted to nineteen hundred millions. The property of the clergy is not yet wholly sold. The sale of the property of the Emigrants has gone briskly on, since the month of January last. Till that time, but a very few adjudications had been obtained; and those with the greatest difficulty. Robespierre's committee were obliged to send to Arras, Lille, Metz, and three and twenty others of the capital cities, large sums to the popular societies, to be employed in instigating the people to those acts of robbery, in which by terror, and

and by the republican conquests, very many have, by this time, been induced to become accomplices. But, the people look with little confidence on those acquisitions, the illegality of which they allow. There are whole districts in which the labourers and farmers have refused to avail themselves of what they call *an unjust abstraction of property from its owners* (9.) But, there is reason to fear, that this illustrious probity may speedily yield to tyranny, and to the allurements of interest.

As to its influence upon the French public revenue, it is needless to calculate either the actual value of this immense mass of land-property, or the rents which it might afford (10): For, the whole territory of France may be regarded as belonging to the Committee of Public Safety; the officers of justice alone, levy the rents; the punishments continually inflicted, operate as a *hypothecation*, from time to time renewed, and in favour of the assignats, inexhaustible, till the revolutionary tyranny shall be overthrown. In the month of March, there were eight thousand and one hundred millions of assignats in circulation; and there is every reason to believe, that they may be augmented to ten, before the end of the year. It has been calculated, that the national debts entered in the *Great Book*, amount to more than six thousand millions. The whole debts

debts of the French Republic will therefore amount, at this time, to fifteen thousand millions; at least: For, among those debts, are to be included all the assignats, whether emitted by public decree, secretly, or fraudulently, now circulating through France.

It will be naturally conceived, that the punishment of the creditors of the State, must necessarily diminish the sum of its debts. But, we must not suppose, that because the Committee of Finances have impudently reduced the number of the state-creditors from 260,000 to 90,000, that the public debts have been proportionally diminished. One creditor had, in some cases, debts due from the state, in twenty different forms. These were payable out of the tax upon property, out of the salt-duties, by the states of some particular province, out of the revenue directly due from the incorporated community of some towns, or were disguised under the denomination of Royal or Provincial Loans. Thus one creditor held several different securities from the state, and ranked as several, among its creditors. At present, in consequence of the addition of these different species of debts into one sum, the number of creditors is reduced in many instances, in which there has been no reduction of the debt. Those registered state-debts, of which every one is anxious to quit himself; that traf-  
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fic which private persons who have sold themselves to villainy, carry on, in the name of the Republic; and the immense profits allowed to contractors, still keep up in the capital, not a little of the stir of business. The assignats are paid away for the materials of building; because, it is easier to acquire than to preserve them. In those fond delusive hopes, which, even in the prisons, are not extinguished (11.), thousands of palaces are reared upon the finest models of Greek and Roman architecture. But they remain commonly uninhabited, till they are seized for the state.

The purse, the bank, and commerce, yield all to terror and to tyranny. In vain does the weak and rascally Cambon, who has seized the supreme management of the Public Revenue, endeavour, by his reports and harangues to maintain the confidence of the people in the National credit. The distrust of it is so universal, and so strong, that his pretences, as they are absolutely ineffectual, seem to be perfectly unnecessary. There is not a man in France who does not expect to see the assignats, the registered national debts, the aids of National munificence, and the pensions presently paid by the nation, all swallowed up in the gulph of the war and the revolution: And for this reason, all strive, who shall

shall first surrender his share, in order to secure the protection of Government (12.)

There is not now a single French Crown (British half-crown nearly) in circulation, any where through the whole Empire. The copper money which was coined in great profusion, quickly disappeared; and was buried in the earth, with those vast quantities of gold and silver which have been disposed of, in the same manner. Yet, the circulation of that coin is not prohibited by law. When this prohibition was proposed, under pain of death; Ramel observed in the name of the Committee upon the Finances, that such a law, if enacted, would occasion a great part of the old coin to be buried in the earth, as it was withdrawn from circulation. Although the law proposed, was, upon the above observation, rejected; yet, the possessor of certain pieces of gold coins is nevertheless almost inevitably exposed to accusation on this account; so that no person dare openly attempt to circulate that species of money. The Commissaries often seize even the gold and silver in the possession of the jewellers and goldsmiths, replacing its value with assignats delivered at *par*. All the accounts published by the Committee upon the Finances, are false in all their particulars. The necessary expenditure upon the projects of the Committee of Public Safety, daily increases the waste, which is not less

excessive and inconceivable than the tyranny and violation of private property, by which it is supported. Nothing is honestly and fairly paid on the part of the Nation; no debt is discharged. Notwithstanding all the pompous pretences of Cambon, the pensions granted by *National beneficence*, and the annuities payable every fortnight upon the public debts, are in arrear for more than twelve months. So many civic formalities stand between the National Treasury and the Public creditor, that it requires an obstinate perseverance, which too often proves equally dangerous and fruitless, to obtain the payment of any part of the interest due to the creditor. Certificates of their civism, are denied to all who have any thing more than some very trifling sum to claim. And the refusal of the certificate is almost always the signal of immediate confinement or death.

Of all the unjust calumnies which can be thrown out against *truth*, the most absurd is, that which represents me as having exaggerated the truckles committed by the deputies, agents, and facilities of the Convention, in their present government of France. But, as some persons, whose ignorance is either to be pitied, or their designs to be suspected, have pretended that *injurious epithets are very improperly applied to that gang of villains* who, at present desolate, under

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the pretence of governing my country ; I must tell them, that the crimes of which the Jacobins have openly declared themselves the authors, accomplices, or instruments, want names to express their atrocity ; that it is as hard to calumniate, as to forgive them ; *that they have overleaped those bounds which conscience and remorse had placed before the career of imagination* ; that they have dragged into day, those crimes which antiquity hid in the darkness of hell ; that the affociation of ruffians, calling themselves the *French National Convention*, now leave human nature without excuse, and all those Frenchmen who have not yet forsaken their country, without help, and almost without hope.

I must tell those *unfaithful translators*, who are always ignorant of what they desire not to know, who never comprehend that which they are unwilling to understand ; that there is, in this case, no specious pretext left, for an excuse to incredulity or dishonesty. I shall here add some new shading to that picture which I have already exhibited, of the tyranny which deluges France with the blood of its inhabitants, and threatens the desolation of the earth : But, I cannot hope to reach the horrible truth of nature. To be absolutely exact, it were necessary, that I should borrow the murderous skill, and the inhumanity of the executioner. None but  
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they who have perpetrated those deeds of horror, can write their history.

The Committee of Public Safety have loudly declared, that all who are in confinement, must be put to death, or, in other words, that they must fall the victims of the success, of the Powers of Europe,—of the success of the Republic,—of the temptations presented by their own partizans. Several ineffectual attempts have been made, to renew, in Paris, the massacres of the 2d of September 1792 (13). I have already mentioned the number of those under arrest. I may with truth say, that it is daily augmented; that, to possess, or to have possessed any small fortune, is a sufficient ground for any person's accusation; that to have been the friend or relation of a person proscribed, is enough to subject you yourself to proscription; (for even divorce, hinders not the agents of the Committee from prosecuting the felicity or the misery of those ties which it has dissolved;) that to be rich and virtuous, is, to be guilty, and ready to be hurried into confinement; to be in confinement, is, to be already assassinated.

No accuser is required to produce evidence of the probability of his accusation, or even to communicate his own name, or make known the place of his abode. If what he has told, proves to be true, he receives a sum of money; and

and a larger sum, if it is found to be false. Persons are arrested without proof, interrogated without legal formalities, outrageously insulted by juries, and separated from all social nature before their miseries are terminated on the scaffold (14). If you have but a single enemy, that one has power to bury you in a dungeon; and having once denounced, he cannot afterwards, retract, and justify you. A word, a gesture, a look, a sign of disapprobation, one symptom of probity, silence even itself, in many instances, are sufficient to draw upon you, the wrath of the Committee of General Security. You must be guilty, in order that you may be declared innocent: You must not be suspected of remorse; if you would not be suspected of incivism.\*

It is not enough to be a villain in your heart; you must ostentatiously shew yourself to be such. You must talk of justice and humanity in the canting language of knavery, and with the accent of russian ferocity. You must not only assassinate the enemy of the Committee, but hold up your blood-stained hands, in the scene of their meetings. You must present the head, after cutting it off, and add the spoils to the heaps in the Thuilleries, in order to gain a right to the gratitude of the Assembly. Every favour they confer, is the price of a crime perpetrated

or promised ; and they never fail to recompense the accomplices in their assassinations.

The old man is accused of the pleasures or errors of his youth ; the husband on account of the virtue of his wife ; the father for the conduct of his children,—although the law deprive him of their obedience, and authorize their misconduct. Several deputies have not been ashamed of sending to the revolutionary tribunal, the women whom they could not seduce (15). Those actions which were called *good*, by a ruffian in the Constituent Assembly, are confined, in the estimation of their merits, to the individual who performs them ; the reputed crimes of any individual, are regarded, as communicating their guilt to his family, and many times, to the whole commonalty to which he belongs. All new laws have a retrospective effect. A villain becomes guilty in the eyes of his confederates, for being such only in an inferior degree. As a certain great minister asked only two lines of any man's writing, in order to convict the writer of what he had never committed ; so the Convention require only an estate and virtues, to satisfy them, that the man who possesses both, must be assassinated.

I shall add, that compassion is often condemned to share the fate of him with whom it sympathizes ; that, even at the foot of the scaffold,  
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the tenderness of nature, however involuntary, is not indulged with impunity ; nature is made responsible for those feelings which she cannot repress ; these must be stifled, upon entering a popular society, and outrageously counteracted in a Revolutionary Committee ; the father is obliged to denounce his son ; the son often acts as a commissary, or officer of justice, in his father's house ; throughout the kingdom, religion, laws, quiet, rest, friendship, are no more. Such are the presents with which the destroyers of France threaten other nations ! Such is the fate which the French Jacobins are preparing for the Jacobins of all other countries !

Merchants, artisans, and workmen, have become no less than the landholders, the objects of furious persecution. Stores have been seized, warehouses emptied, and private credit laid under contribution (16). The possessors of moneyed capitals, and the merchants, stop payment, with a sort of eagerness, and throw their affairs into confusion ; they have universally sought refuge in that poverty which no longer affords security, and that obscurity, which, however, is no longer in France, the consolation and protection of poverty. All old jealousies and enmities are revived. Selfish jealousy, the most dangerous and powerful passion in the human heart, pursues with incessant ill offices, even

ven those persons whose knowledge, abilities, or ardour in the public service, have obtained recompences from the Committee of Public Safety. Their pride encourages industry; their tyranny destroys it. Internal trade is perishing, with a rapid decline. There will soon be no other trade carried on in France, but that of *denunciation*, and that of *printing* (17). All merchants being obliged, under pain of death, to declare the nature and the quantity of the goods in which they deal, and to sell them at a fixed price; are by consequence, subjected to severe losses, where they continue to carry on their traffic, and to great dangers when they shew a disposition to relinquish it; for the Agents of the Committee, abuse equally their industry and their fears (18).

The law of the *Maximum*, fixing the price of all articles which the state has occasion to purchase, has assumed as the standard for its estimate, the prices of the year 1790, to which it allows an addition of one third, and charges of carriage. But, this legal valuation, which is in proportion to the respective values of goods and assignats, estimated as 2 to 7,—is always evaded in transactions between private persons. Almost all articles of primary utility, have risen to three times their former real price, within these last two years (19). The labourer cannot  
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live upon less than 50 sols a-day. All in **this** condition, murmur equally against victories and defeats, against their law-givers, and concerning their own wretchedness. The Convention declares itself, sedentary in the capital, and permanent, till the conclusion of a peace. The deputies amass large fortunes, and display, in their style of living, an insolently sumptuous luxury. The people, meanwhile, are daily obliged to sacrifice to the public, their property, their time, and their resources. The Republican rulers have even astonished by the depravity of their manners, the most corrupted city in Europe. They live with common women. These women drive a trade in accusations, or the imputation of innocence; preside at the tables of the deputies; adorn the car of triumph, at the national festivals; and display themselves as walking statues of liberty. All things are venal. Collot d'Herbois and Lindet, Amar and Guffroy, Tallien and Legendre, Panis and Sergeant, receive *in the Committees*, and even with the hands of the Constituted Authorities, the prices of assassination, or of liberation. (20). There, certificates of residence or civism, signatures and passports, are most impudently and imprudently sold. There, Barrere was seen to exact an hundred thousand livres, for setting a respectable lady at liberty (21); and to sign with  
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the same hand, and at the same time, the order for her liberation, and another order to the Revolutionary Tribunal, to prosecute her anew. There, Roberspierre encouraged this venality, of purpose to make it afterwards, a subject of accusation against those characters he should have occasion to dread. Upon such grounds, perished Huillier,—that noted assassin of the 2d of September, the leading member of the department of Paris, and the confident of Roberspierre,—for daring to blame the *dictator* for such an infamous traffic of corruption and pillage. Upon such grounds, perished Chabot, Bazire, La Croix, Danton, de Launay d'Angers, Fabre, and others. Thus perish all the Agents and Co-adjutors, of the Committees, spoiled by the same rapine which they have themselves for a while exercised, victims of that assassination of which they have been the prompters or the instruments.

It is not to be denied that decrees have been enacted, as well for the improvement of the public morals, as in favour of justice, humanity, and toleration. But, the more, debauchery is proscribed by the laws of the police, so much the more is it still tolerated by the magistrates. It is from the midst of incessant orgies, that the deputies of the people, the administrators, generals, and soldiers, set out to ravage the frontiers, and

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desolate the provinces. A decree of the Common Council of Paris, enjoined all women of abandoned manners to be secluded from public intercourse; but like all the rest of their decrees that are directed to any good or useful purpose, it was not carried into execution. For, to prevent our surprise that the Convention should sometimes suffer its decrees to embrace views of good; we must know, that all its laws are formed to be susceptible of a double sense; the secret spirit known to the oppressor only,—the oppressed being left to expose himself to accusation, by obeying the illusive literal sense; that the pretence of good, is one of the means which the Committee of Public Safety employs for the accomplishment of mischief; and that they never do good, but with the intention of evil.

I must next speak of scenes of horror and of guilt, exceeding all that is shocking in history; and relate what passed in Paris for the space of nine whole days of sacrilege and rapine. In an instant, that city was converted into a wide theatre, on which, all that is sacred in religion and morality, the duties and the virtues, were abandoned to the outrages of a frantic populace. The churches were pillaged, and all the solemn subjects of religion, and its most venerable objects, exposed to the profanation of blasphemy, of drunkenness, of all the profligacy of those dregs and that abomination  
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of the nations, which in these last five years, have been received into the capital of France. The tombs of the dead were violated (22.), their ashes scattered, and death was no longer a refuge from the troubling of the wicked. In the churches, men indecently naked, mutilated those remains of martyrs which had long been objects of the veneration of the faithful. The sacred emblems of christianity were dashed in the dust; the image of God, Most High, was broken in pieces by the axe of the executioner. The vilest animals were covered with the consecrated ornaments of his priests; songs the most licentious, every where, insulted the celebration of his holy mysteries. Magistrates, by their presence, gave the sanction of law to these *saturnalia*; in which the howlings of the cannibals struck terror even into the hearts of their leaders. The wolfish gang then repaired to the hall of the National Convention. The Convention received them with gratulation, recorded their execrable triumph in its annals, and consigned the plunder which they brought, to its Committees. It purchased at the price of 1,550,000 livres, those nine days, which are unequalled in the annals of any other age or nation. Almost at the same moment, equally hellish bands spread over all France; braving and insulting the Divine Being, and violating the sanctity of every form  
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of religious worship. The demolition of the churches was a necessary consequence of their devastation. It was permitted in certain districts, and commanded in others. Self-interest became an accomplice with impiety; and the liberty of adoring God, was denied to every individual. In those days of mourning and desolation, you must either proscribe the Deity, or be proscribed yourself.

Then was that base wretch whose career was shortened by a villain more execrable than himself (23); then was Marat placed by Robespierre on the altar raised to the Supreme Being, and exposed on it, together with le Pelletier St Fargeau. The two monsters took possession of all the temples, all the theatres, and all the departments. They were invoked, as deified mortals, by their colleagues, and made objects of derision by the populace of Paris, whose ribaldry was not to be checked. Three months after, they were conveyed to the Pantheon, where they are still to be seen (24.)

Religion was as outrageously persecuted, as Royalty. The eagerness for its destruction even outran the necessary precautions. Five men were killed in attempting to put up the red cap, the blood-coloured emblem of Republicanism, upon the Dome of the Hospital of Invalids. In that temple sacred to glory, religion no more con-  
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foles those victims of war, who died blessing their God and the greatest of their Kings. Every monument of the beneficence of the French monarchs, has been defaced, mutilated, or carried away. It should seem that the Convention were ashamed of the ancient grandeur and glory of the French Nation; and regarded with dread even the memorials of history, and the tacit reproaches of the arts. They ordered all manuscripts to be burnt; and by a strange instance of self-contradiction, equally expressive of avarice and tyranny, forbade the exportation of any books, even of books upon religion, out of France. They have decreed, that the Royal Library shall be purged; that there shall be formed in every district, a Revolutionary Library; that there shall be a new Grammar printed; and new books prepared for the instruction of children.

St Denis, St Germain, Fontainebleau, Choisy, Brunoy, royal palaces, or villas, country-houses, and villages, have all changed their names, masters, and inhabitants (25.) It was in contemplation to give Paris, the name of the CITY OF EQUALITY; but, this absurdity has not yet taken effect. The Republic have taken upon them the distribution and nomination of the seasons and days; they have changed the order in the computation of the parts of the year, which is generally

generally received through the world; and applying to every thing that decimal calculation, the simplicity of which gives it a considerable recommendation, have decreed that the day shall henceforth consist of ten hours, the hour of 144 minutes; that the month shall consist of 30 days, and the year of 360. They have set apart five whole days (the return of which they lately feared that they should never see,) for the anniversary celebration of the memory of their errors and their crimes. It was Fabré d'Eglantine; who seemed to have been condemned to be the puppet of the applauses of the modern theatre; an intriguing writer of letters, who was seduced by a small share of vain-glory, and large sums of money; it was he who made the new measurement of time, and framed the revolutionary calendar, the institution of which he did not long survive. This Hegyra of wickedness and absurdity, was first thought of, in the midst of one of those drunken entertainments, in which the deputies pass their nights. It was proposed to give to the month of May, the name of Venus, to September, that of Bacchus. But, in spite of La Harpe and Chenier, the spirit of *Sans-culotism* prevailed over the amiable illusions and the poetry of antiquity, from which we derive the names of our months and weeks. And names have been framed which no language recognizes (26.)

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The man who is not deterred from indulging those soft affections which multiply our existence, and ventures to submit to the ties of lawful love, amidst the horrors which seem to say that chaste mutual love can exist no more, must receive from the hands of a municipality he dislikes,—the bride whom they will soon again divide from him; divorce has been freed from those formalities which were at first prescribed for it; so that it now gives free course to domestic dissensions, and favours every bad passion. One profligate wretch may, in the space of a single year, pollute twenty different families with his mischievous principles, and his immorality.

A man is stigmatized, at his birth, with the opprobria of Republicanism. He is inscribed in the *Book of Life* for the particular municipality in which he is born, and graced or rather disgraced with the names of *Sanseculotte*, *Le Pelletier*, *Marat*, &c. which his parents promise that they will teach him to deserve. The *revolutionary school* receives him from the cradle. The republic claims his boyish services. He wears its chains, while he lives. He dies fighting under its banners. His mourning family have it not in their power to follow his body to the grave, and there to invoke the God of his fathers to be merciful to his soul. He is obscurely interred in foreign earth; and forbidden to  
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foothe his dying moments with the hopes of futurity (27).

In several provinces in the North, these unhappy novelties of opinion are still rejected. Into certain cantons which I will not, by naming them, expose to the fury of the Committee, the priests have returned with an ardour of faith and zeal, in which they are ready to claim the Crown of Martyrdom. Persecuted with a cruel fury which length of time does not relax or mitigate, they skulk in the woods through the day: At the return of night, they come out to the farm-houses to exercise their sacred functions. Their holy services yield consolation and peace of mind to the people of the county, who venture to share their dangers, and to contribute to them, the necessaries for subsistence. But, the numerous emissaries of the Convention render this exalted duty, each day, more and more difficult. Indifference for the persecuted religion, spreads and broods over the country, with the tyranny by which that religion is pursued.

This is one cause of the discontent which is rising every day, higher and higher. The misery of the people is enhanced by those very means which the Convention offer for their relief (28). Those means of relief, are granted only as the price of exertions which it requires for its defence; and by these exertions, the

strength of the People is still more and more exhausted. Upon every event, fortunate or unfortunate, the terrour of the People, is laid under contribution. Conquests are to be secured and enlarged; defeats to be repaired and avenged. Arms, linen, clothes, provisions, are all demanded, and delivered up (29). The popular societies even lay those things under requisition, which have been excepted by the decrees of the Convention; and their orders are always approved. From six to ten in the evening, throughout the republic, the bell rings, and the People assemble in the Clubs, to hear decrees, addresses, and news. None dare absent themselves; for, such an act of incivism would be punished with the loss of liberty and property. From the clubs, couriers are daily sent to demand from the Committee of Public Safety, the sums necessary to the perpetration of the Republican crimes which they resolve upon. From the same clubs, are sent, those fallacious estimates of property with which the Convention fill the record of their proceedings. From them too, are the pikes distributed, with which the very women and children are armed for the pillage of property. In those clubs, the candidate for a public office, or the citizen under accusation, is interrogated, *Whom have you denounced? Who has been, upon your accusation, delivered over to*

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*the Revolutionary Tribunal? What were your feats on the tenth of August?*

Twelve rascals are sufficient for the institution of a society, or for a Revolutionary Committee; an hundred, for the Government of a town or district. Six thousand men make Paris tremble. I will venture to say that the sincere partizans of the Convention, in that city, do not exceed that number. Twenty or thirty thousand men, are the blind instruments of the band. Necessity constrains, and terror oppresses the rest (30). From these data, the number may be calculated, of those who hold the reins of oppression through the provinces; and some judgment may be formed of the degree of torpor and terrified submission which prevails among all the rest of the Nation.

IT IS TIME to turn our attention upon that corner, which will long retain the most illustrious name that has been signalized in the French Revolution. The long resistance, and the amazing energy of spirit, which have been displayed in the midst of an hostile empire, that has fled, on all sides, before an handful of intestine opposers, must undoubtedly depend on causes worthy of a particular investigation.

That civil war, which has transformed into bands of *Spartaci*, those heroes who threatened Paris and the Convention with a danger not inferior to that with which the illustrious Gladia-

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tor once terrified Rome and her Senate; that desperate opposition which LA VENDEE has made to the destroyers of France; took its rise from the warm attachment of the inhabitants of this district, to their priests and nobles. The peasants rose in arms, to oppose the violation of property and rights, and the invasion of atheism and oppression. They marched, strong in ardent courage, and in rectitude and purity of conscience. What they dared to attempt, is astonishing to imagination; what they have accomplished, even amidst disasters, must crown them with immortal glory. In absolute want of every necessary means of success, they dared to make the attempt of rescuing the empire. Their intrepidity purchased them arms and ammunition. The purity of their motives, and the lawfulness of their rights enabled the leaders to procure foldiers; who were not afraid to embrace so dangerous a cause; and who dared to join them in pursuing it through the paths of death.

The peasants of Poitou, placing full confidence in their leaders, shewed a determined resolution to conquer, worthy of higher admiration, than that with which Europe has beheld their efforts. The advantages which the Republic, at different times, gained over them, cost the Convention more, in blood and treasure, than they have expended, upon their most signal  
disasters

disasters on the frontiers. The warriors of La Vendee, before they evacuated Le Mans, had slain, in it, thirteen thousand men; La Fleche cost the Convention, ten thousand men; the Royalists slew, or otherwise destroyed, in their irruption into Normandy, no fewer than six and thirty thousand of the Republicans. They effected their passage over the Loire; one of the most difficult of military operations; in consequence of the continual fluctuations of the bed of the river. The decree of the Convention for *their* total destruction, passed on the 20th of October, expressed plainly the fruitlessness of their own efforts, and the greatness of their fears.

Three of the Republican generals ventured to represent to the Committee of Public Safety, in the month of December, that the war in La Vendee, could not be terminated in less than two years: And general Danican convinced them of this.

The Royalists, have however, to contend with both art and nature, with men, and with the deputies of the Convention. In no region, in no age, has barbarity ever before, had more ferocious and savage ministers to execute its behests. La Vendee was speedily made a scene of desolation and ruin. A territory of twenty leagues was wasted by conflagration. Har-  
vests,

vests, woods, houses, were destroyed; no vestige remained of aught, but the cruelty of the monsters of Republicanism, and the glory of the heroes of royalty. Infancy and old age, those two periods of life which are ever innocent, and every where respected, were, in this instance, proscribed and assassinated. The women were not spared: More than six hundred of these were massacred at Laval, La Fleche, and Sable. Crimes unexampled in former ages, were fiercely perpetrated. Women with child, were ripped up with the bayonet; the infants torn from the womb with the bloody weapon, held aloft on its point, then dashed upon the mangled corpse of the mother (31). The last agonies of the dying, were not secure from rape. These murders were perpetrated under the eye of a wretch named Pierry; at the orders of a monster called Santerre; Phelippeaux rewarded the perpetrators; and the Convention proudly recorded the massacre in their annals. Such are the names to be transmitted to posterity. Horrible and distressing will be the task of that Historian who shall undertake to preserve to future ages, the accursed memory of the French Revolution.

Fire, sword, and prison, were employed against the Royalists of La Vendee (32). Nature, was in a manner, to be destroyed, in order to conquer them: Nature yielded; but, they

they still contend. The remotest posterity will bless their efforts, or honour the memory of their misfortunes. The names of Rochejaque-  
lin, D'Elbee, Bonchamp, Lescure, Charrette, and Cantineau, must prove immortal. Nor shall they dread the censure of history. History pardons no faults, save those of which the commission was unavoidable. Scarcely any faults have been committed by them. They gave an example, often of moderation, always of justice. They committed to the flames, those repositories of new laws or crimes which were to be found in every village. They protected such as had erred through weakness, but punished villains and traitors. Even these, they occasionally pardoned, with a magnanimous and dangerous clemency. They proclaimed their King, and worshipped their God. They shewed themselves the deliverers, not the conquerors of their country. They were the hope of the Monarchy, and the ferour of the Republic.

Yet again, I will affirm, that La Vendee has been the most formidable enemy of the Convention. The Convention dreads it still. Out of it only, can an effectual Counter-Revolution arise. The Committee of Public Safety, dread Frenchmen just and victorious, to whom the erring and the unfortunate, may resort, with their complaints, their wants, their penitence.

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They fear, that their soldiers, and the national guards of the towns, may be reluctant to combat their brethren, friends, or fellow-citizens. They dread those names of which the glory is nearly coeval with the first ages of the French Monarchy, and must remain for ever combined with the memory of the regal honours of their country ; and whose valour is sufficient to rally their partisans and avengers (33).

Determined not to ask, and certain that they would not obtain either peace or a truce, the heroes of La Vendee may perhaps be reduced to the necessity of triumphing or perishing. They will have astonished the world, and arraigned that providence which raises up, and overthrows empires. Their final destruction must appear to the Convention, its most advantageous triumph ; it may then consider itself as victorious over its most dangerous enemies.

MEANWHILE, they neglect no means that are thought proper to inspire the French Nation with the utmost hatred against the powers with whom they are at war. The English Government is that against which the Committee of Public Safety appears to have more particularly directed its efforts. The rage of the members of the Committee, against that generous nation, has been carried to such a pitch, that probability is forgotten, in the representation of those absurd and wicked

wicked projects which they falsely attribute to the English. At the meetings of the Jacobins, the most extravagant language was thrown out against them; and discussions were introduced concerning them, in which it were hard to say, whether wickedness or ignorance were most conspicuous. All the affiliated societies connected with the Jacobins, were directed, in the month of February, to put the machinations of the English, in the order of the day. Every one thought it the duty of true civism to calumniate a Constitution which no one understood, and to blacken with the unjust imputation of crimes, a *people* and *ministers*, whose virtues and abilities they dreaded (34). An hundred pamphlets against the English, were published at one time; and by these, Robespierre turned the anxieties of the People, for a whole month, from regard to the critical situation in which their affairs then were, upon the frontiers.

It was at that period, Robespierre laboured under a political illness, a fever of terrou, which made him hesitate, for a while, upon the choice of power or security. He deliberated with himself, whether he should not abandon the Capital to the Common-Council of Paris, and to the Foreign Armies, and with a certain number of the deputies, seek refuge in Switzerland, in which they might have hoped to find an asylum.

lum. After thirteen days of fear and uncertainty, he at last concluded that he had popularity sufficient to protect him against all the enemies whom he was about to proscribe, and that the armies might yet be reinforced, so as to defend him from the approach of the Allied Powers (35).

Provisions were poured into the markets of Paris, in the utmost profusion. The surrounding country was, for their supply, stripped of all its abundance. Potatoes were scattered in the streets, and thrown about, in sport, into the very hall of the Convention (36.) Robespierre, while he thus gave the productions of the ground to the indigent populace; at the same time, promised them the inheritance of the lands, as soon as their rightful proprietors should have perished on the scaffold. In the armament which was ordered to be equipped in the roads, he shewed them, ready means for acquiring a rich booty from which they were still divided by an arm of the sea.

The members of the Committee of Public Safety, despairing, at length, of being able to bring the English Nation to adopt their principles, withdrew the veil, and made public, the full extent of their designs. The plundering of the city of London, was put into the order of the day, through all the Commonalties in the Republic. The riches of that city were univer-

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fally represented, as worthy of inflaming the avarice and all the passions of the Sans-culottes (37). They were constantly told, that the property which the Convention intended to bestow upon them, could not be secure, nor the French Revolution, firmly established; till that *Constitution* which had been long the glory of England, should be changed into a Revolutionary Government, till Committees, assassinations, and requisitions should be introduced into England; till they should have destroyed London, as Rome anciently destroyed Carthage. The Committee of Public Safety, then solemnly vowed the destruction of the English Nation. They swore never to lay down their arms, till the banners of anarchy should wave over its ruins. But, in imitation of that God who showers his blessings on the righteous, and on the wicked; the English Nation have ardently engaged to protect the interests of the world. Its fleets and armies are sent out to defend the order of Society. Its genius expands its covering wings over the earth.

However, from those *common-place sophisms* with which the secret partisans of the French Revolution, every where, strive to deceive and delude the people; we may form a true judgment concerning the intentions or clear intelligence of those numerous declaimers, who are continually earnest in the praise and defence of the Government,

ment and conquests of the Committee of Public Safety. "What right," say they, "have we to intermeddle in the internal government of France? What are their crimes to us, who have nothing to fear from them? Why engage in a war, ruinous to our trade and our finances? Have we strength to conquer so powerful an enemy? Ought we not to reserve all our resources, and to confine our efforts to our own immediate defence?" &c.

Such is the language of those men's anxious patriotism, who have the welfare of the people, ever on their tongues! Thus do they strive to divide the intentions from the resources, the purposes from the powers of the true friends to the people. Thus do the Jacobins of all countries, however kept under by vigilance and coercion, incessantly and audaciously demand in the name of policy and humanity, the conclusion of a peace which must deliver up the world to that devastation which now wastes France, unless the principles of the Convention shall perish with it.

Those men who affect so profound a security in respect to the consequences of the French Revolution, forget, that it is at war equally with its partisans and its enemies; that it levels the same destruction at its accomplices and its adversaries! They see not its steps lighted by conflagrations, hastening on to murder the rich;

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to pillage the earnings of industry, to sack the provinces of Belgium; while these, betraying the patriotism and benevolence of their sovereign, refuse to wield their arms, and expend their treasures in their own defence! They see not the votaries of that Revolution, prompt Italy to insurrection, deluge Poland with blood, excite the colonists to mutual carnage, and extend their ravages over both hemispheres. Are not the conquerors of the Bastille,—the assassins of the 5th of October,—the regicides of the 10th of August,—now buried in the same dungeons in which the victims of honour and loyalty groan under existence! Have not Orleans and Jourdan, Brissot and Marat, Bailli and Rabaut St Etienne, fallen by the hands of their own colleagues? Are not La Fayette and Santerre in confinement? Have not the Constitutionalists been consigned to obscurity or death?

Those first apostles of French Liberty, those passionate prompters to the Revolution; distinguished by the names, whether of *Monarchists*, of moderate men, of *Feuillants*, of *Constitutionalists* &c.; sacrificed their honours and their oaths, to what they called the interests of the people. Yet, those very men, who came first into notice, upon the unfortunate convocation of the States-General, now unanimously blame the People for what is the necessary

fary consequence of their own deed. Madmen! They persuaded the People, that, to them alone, belonged the exercise of the sovereign authority! Those political insects of the day, whose names are an idle burthen upon the official records, and if registered on the pages of history, must be registered with an uninteresting toil, have successively broken off from the Jacobins to whom they gave birth; and who have learned from them, every thing, but courage. But, they are now dragged, day after day, to perish on the same scaffold to which they conducted their King, by involving him in troubles, and then deserting him. Some of those who were most guilty among them, may have hitherto escaped their just desert from public justice; and these, still busy themselves even in exile, to obtain the restoration of democracy; taking it upon them to traffic for the honour of the Monarchy, and the safety of the State. They affect a tender anxiety for Monarchy, but desire peace for the sake of Republicanism.

The Republic now triumphs, but bears in its bosom, all the most fatal seeds of dissension. Some signal misfortune, or else long and deep despair, must assuredly raise the French, in just indignation, against their present tyrants. It is at least probable, that their Committee would be unable to maintain their authority after the evacuation

vacuation of those conquests which at present augment their power, and prolong the patience of their victims. They will undoubtedly redouble their guilty exertions, in order to give new energy to what they call public spirit, and to change once more, the destiny of the French Empire. But, peace ! peace ! is now the eternal invocation of a nation, whom misery awakes from their frantic dream of greatness. The more the Committee of Public Safety feels the necessity for peace, so much the more does it still pretend to scorn it. But no person can be deceived by its pretences in respect to the continuance of the war. These are daily contradicted by what its representatives and commissaries give out in the course of their missions. Two Representatives of the People, received in the month of April last, positive orders, to this effect. Their constant language through the country, out of which they were carrying the young men, and the provisions produced in it, was, " Have patience ! The war will be ended, " this year ; you will then enjoy plenty and " property."

However, the French Republic, or rather the most tyrannical despotism that ever oppressed mankind, may veil the horror of their crimes under the splendour of victory ; yet, the exhausted condition of the provinces, the general weariness

rinefs of the war, and the despair which is almost univerfal through the nation, muft neceffarily increafe even amidft their triumph; fas will certainly appear by the continued frequency of capital punifhments. More is wafte, than acquired by pillage. The neceffary confumption of every useful article, in the armies, and under the revolutionary government, is fuch as to leave it impoffible for the moft fuccefsful robbery to afford relief to the people. The armies may be plentifully fupplied; but, in the mean time, thofe at home, perifh for want. Civic feafts, public amufements, and the pompous formalities of pretended liberty, employed to deceive the capital, and the kingdom, may, for a while, repress the people's murmurs, but will not finally ftop them, if the war fhall ftill continue to require new facrifices at their hands.

The Committee of Public Safety ftrove, therefore, to oppofe to the prudence and the judicious plans of the Allies, an energetic activity which *they* alone have, as yet, been able to exert. They perfuade themfelves, that fortified towns, military order and vigilance, or religious principles, will prove weak barriers againft the impetuous career of the French Revolution; that rivers, mountains, an arm of the fea, or twenty degrees of latitude, may retard, but cannot abfolutely ftop its progrefs; that ftrong in its own fpirit and

and energies, it hardly needs Allies; that the longer it continues, so much the more terrible must its ravages, so much the more extensive must its empire still become.

But, the ministers of the several cabinets of Europe, know that, with the causes of the downfall of states, those which tend to prolong their existence, are always more or less connected. They know that victory lays the train of misfortune; unless improved with that unwearied activity which is always the most formidable enemy of faction. The ministers of the Allied Powers have never despised the French nation; whatever may have been the pretences given out by their present tyrants; who, by representing the nation as proudly contemned by the Combined Powers, endeavour thus to rouse the national pride to the aid of their mischievous measures. The Nations are persuaded, that the French themselves will, sooner or later, execute justice upon that Committee, and that Convention who are now gorged in their blood. All Europe is convinced that the Jacobins must either be exterminated, or servilely received as the Lords and destroyers of the earth.

Governments are well aware of the certainty of these great truths. Each succeeding day confirms them. Having for a while hoped to bring back a great nation to their duty and to virtue  
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by the sense of misfortune, and penitence for guilt; the rest of the civilized world perceive now the necessity of advancing from all quarters against those assassins who still direct the actions, and restrain the wishes of their countrymen.

I dare affirm that the majority of the inhabitants of Paris, and almost all France, regard the principles and the deputies of the Convention with horror; that the tyranny which presses every day with a more destructive force, and more merciless cruelty upon the inhabitants of that devoted country, turns their wishes wholly from the Constitution of 1789, to which they were once most passionately attached; and that there is no province which would not now with joy, accept the old government, under all its imperfections. Even in Paris, the restoration of that government has been often and loudly called for (38). Yet, amidst this universal indignation against an handful of ruffians; while the general prayer is for their destruction or punishment; Europe is threatened, on the part of those men, with the most imminent danger! But, the Allies regain new energy. They know that all private interests must yield to the care of their common safety. They will grant neither peace, nor truce to the French Republic; because, should either be granted, there would be no



longer peace or trace between Governments and their subjects, between property and robbery, between right and proscription.

To support these resolutions, let every individual, of every class among the Allied Nations, join his earnest aid! Ye wealthy and industrious, against you does the French Revolution advance. If you refuse to risk all that you have, in your own defence, to-day,—to-morrow, it will be yours no longer. Put away from your lips, that cup of sovereign power which the Convention holds out to intoxicate and poison the nations. Scorn that precarious peace which its emissaries and accomplices recommend. They would not grant you a moment's peace, did they not dread your courage, and seek to elude its efforts; did they not desire to break your Governments and Constitutions in pieces, under the wheels of the bloody car of Republicanism, and to deprive you of those virtues which they cannot corrupt. If you refuse to contend against the Jacobins and the Convention; then read, read your fate in the bloody pages of that Revolutionary Tribunal, which has never once pardoned wealth, virtue, or remorse.

The object is not; to give this, or that form of government to an empire; but to save that empire from a tyranny, the most obstinate, destructive,

and horrible that ever yet appeared upon mankind; but, to save Europe from being effaced from the map of the earth; but, to preserve the kindness of humanity from being converted into the tiger's rage!

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### POSTSCRIPT.

**T**HIS work had been some days in the press, when we received the news of the Revolution which has suddenly taken place in the National Convention. Its effects are likely to extend to every thing in which the Dictator was concerned, and to rid France of a part at least, of his accomplices. The Public may therefore be gratified in learning, that the conspiracy which has cut off Robespierre, began to be formed in the month of April last; that Bentabolle was the first mover in it; that the deaths of Herault de Sechelles, the intimate friend of Bentabolle, and of Danton and Camillus des Moulins, whose characters were greatly respected by their colleagues, struck a general terroure into all the most eminent among the deputies, and made every one tremble for his own safety.

Bentabolle

Bentabolle knew himself to be unequal to the enterprize which he was meditating; although he had always enjoyed great influence among the Jacobins. But, trusting to the energy of his own character, which has never failed him, he determined to leave Paris, in the month of September 1793. In the month of January last, he again solicited to be sent into the department of La Sarthe, still in order to save his head from proscription. In the month of March, he returned to the Convention, having, in the mean time, married a widow, the nobility of whose birth, and her fortune, with good reason augmented his fears. In the rage of revenge, fear, and pride, he resolved to stab Robespierre, rather than submit to obey a colleague. "Royalty I dread not; I can yield obedience, if it must be so, to a man born to sovereign power; to my colleague, I never will." Such was the language of this deputy; and it expressed the secret thoughts of many of his colleagues.

Bentabolle communicated his design to Collot d'Herbois and Vadier; of whom the former had been long his friend, and the latter had become so, since the destruction of the party of Brissot. These three gained Tallien to join their conspiracy. In the very Convention, while all around, trembled at the voice of Robespierre; they would have sacrificed the tyrant to their resentment,

ment, fears, and jealousies, if the Assembly had appeared likely to have the courage to condemn him.

Barrere, who was not acquainted, till the very last moment, with what was thus resolved upon, against the Dictator, whose base agent he had made himself; Barrere whose surest means of defence, consists in his base wickedness in denunciation, and his abject meanness in danger; Barrere, in those circumstances, acted with *valiant a fear*, and changed his language, conduct, and party, with such remarkable and perfidious dexterity, that he escaped the fate of the villain whose instrument he had been. But his fall cannot be distant.

That power, without a name, which Robespierre had usurped,—the greatest that a single individual ever exercised,—is then at an end. The fall of the usurper, would, no doubt, have led to a train of events, which might, at once have terminated the reign of French Republicanism; had not the Armies of the Combined Powers then been at too great a distance from the French frontiers. I will not now scruple to affirm, that it was by representing the punishment of a single deputy, as a matter of indifference to the Convention, by ascribing to him more influence than he actually possessed, by calling the French army, his army,—and the French,

French, his subjects; that his enemies underestimated the real power of this man, who never appeared in the camps, otherwise, than by his Generals or his couriers; and at last prevailed, to conduct him to the scaffold. A great power exerted in a Revolution, usually recoils on the head of the individual by whom it is virtually, although not nominally exercised.

Three whole months, and the cowardly machinations of a whole Assembly, were required to accomplish the fall of Robespierre. With every symptom of fear, deriving courage only from their numbers, and firmness from desperate terror, the deputies at length revealed their mutual thoughts, and joined their arms. They advanced step by step, upon the paths of the first four conspirators. All the danger with which they were all alike threatened, was requisite to rouse, and to combine them, against the tyger whom no one daunt attack alone.

The conduct of the Convention, and of the sections of Paris, upon this occasion, confirms two great truths: One, that the members of the Convention, are equally cowardly and barbarous, are in truth, much less formidable, than they have been fancied to be; and are all equally abhorred by the People; who, if they applaud their decrees to-day, would, to-morrow, with higher transport, receive and applaud any deliverers who

who should enter their capital: *The other*, that the Combined Powers may be well assured, that, till the abolition of the Conventional Government, there can be no public Authority in France, sufficiently firm, and independent of the spirit of Revolution, to sign a treaty, or restore civil order in the Nation.

Robespierre and St Just are fallen: But, let us remember, that all the heads of the Hydra are equally venomous. Having long lamented, that the bloody deeds of the Convention, should but slightly influence the fate of Europe; We may, at last, be persuaded of the necessity of advancing from all quarters against an Assembly still deriving new resources from new villainies; against a mass of crimes, in support of which, the *sections* and the *commonalties* throughout the Republic, must still continue to act, till foreign protection shall enable them to turn their arms against the assassins.

Two or three months may possibly pass, before another ruffian, with the abilities of Robespierre, shall rise to the same eminence of tyranny. It were easy to name a man who is likely to attempt it. A deluge of blood must be shed, and perhaps a perfidious pretence of clemency held out, in order to support the new fortunes of the Committee of Public Safety. The armies, administrative bodies, and popular societies

ties will be purged. Other crimes than those which gained admission into them, must be perpetrated by such as would not be extruded of them. French Liberty must be protected by new oaths, and by the most jealous and extensive vigilance. Even the victims whom Roberespierre had thrown into the dungeons, must perish for an alledged connexion with him. Tallien, that bloody miscreant, is altogether destitute of the talents necessary to the accomplices in a Revolution. But, he possesses the advantage which the present thirst for blood, in France, affords, of having acted in the massacres of the 2d of September, and in a long series of robberies, in the Commonalty of Paris, and in the City of Bourdeaux. Billaud-Varennes and Legendre, are equally cruel, with fewer personal advantages. Collot d'Herbois and Bourbon de L'Oise, have no resources but those of ferocity and wickedness. Sevestre and Delmas, are at this moment, the most dangerous men in the Convention; and it is impossible that their craft, their abilities, and their wickedness should not speedily raise them to great influence.

Whatever the names which are next to become eminent; whatever the moderation and justice which may gild the first days of the new reign; the members of the Revolutionary Government



can be illustrious by their crimes alone. For, it is no more in their power, than in their disposition to become just, virtuous, and merciful. They must follow the footsteps of Roberespierre, till they meet his fate. The Revolutionary Government *must* be maintained, while the war shall last; the executioners must continue to deluge France with blood, till the Allied Powers shall approach the capital, or till despair shall produce a general insurrection.

IN

## NOTES.

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### Note 1. Page 142.

There are whole towns which have not, in them, more than an hundred musquets. Notwithstanding the amazing activity with which arms are manufactured throughout the Republic ; I will venture to affirm, that of the foldiers raised by requisition, more than a hundred thousand remain unarmed. For want of arms, they cannot be sent to the frontiers. The Committee of Public Safety have contracted for 40,000 musquets from the North of Europe ; for each of which, delivered in the ports of France, they have impowered their agents to pay 120 livres, in coin. They have likewise contracted for 35,000 musquets from New England, at 160 livres each. [324.6]

### Note 2. Page 143.

The population of each of the sections of Paris consists of from 13,000 to 14,000 souls ; the whole

whole population of the capital appears, from an enumeration made in the month of March last, to amount to 683,461 souls. Nor will this number appear surprising, when it is considered, that although many of those inhabitants who were rich, or in easy circumstances, have left Paris, within these last five years; yet, those who are in want and wretchedness, assemble about the Convention, from all quarters of France.

Note 3. Page 145.

I saw about ten thousand men, of the first requisition, pass through Normandy in the beginning of May. They wanted shoes, were half naked, and carried clubs for their arms. It is certain, that other requisitionary soldiers, in masses of 4000 or 5000 together, left their homes, in the same state of equipment.

Note 4. Page 157.

It is common enough for a general of a brigade or division of the army, to get shirts and clothes made for himself,—as having been before, unprovided,—in the eight days, which are allowed between his nomination and his departure for the army. Considerable advances are made upon the appointments; which are from 4000 to 18000 livres in the month. This was the allowance to Santerre and Roussignol, when in La Vendee.

Vendee. Almost all the generals put under requisition, table-linen, meat, wines, and all other things they want;—and for these they never pay.

Note 5. Page 156.

The Convention make a false pretence of the word *Requisition*. “We must,” said Barrere to Collot d’Herbois, “we must always represent four millions of men as ready to rush to the frontiers: “We must shew to Europe the general levy of “the eighty-five departments, as ready to pour “upon the nations, whenever we shall give the “word. It may be in fact, impossible; but, by “making it to be feared, we shall accomplish our “end.”

Note 6. Page 159.

A part of the beggars of Paris, and of the widows and children of volunteers, whom it might be dangerous to punish, but whose complaints rise often to angry murmurs, are employed in constructing those foolish fortifications which are raised round Paris. You will often hear the persons who are employed upon those fortifications, say; “When the Austrians come, “they will laugh at these redoubts, and trenches “without water; but we shall then laugh at “them also; and then, all will be better.” This

I have from the director-substitute of the works ; who told me that he heard such words as the above, pass among the labourers daily.

“ A man to whom the Republic owes an hundred thousand livres, is certainly a dangerous man,” said Cambon, one day : “ Industry has its projects of counter-revolution, and strives to overthrow the Republic by ruining its finances.” Since a logic so conclusive, is in use, and since the Convention thus make the Executioners, their Bankers; it will be easily conceived, that the Abbé d’Espagnac, to whom they owed 14,300,000 livres, must have been one of the most formidable counter-revolutionists in France. He had, however, done great services to the Convention ; having made arrangements for the regular furnishing and management of the carts, waggons, and other carriages necessary to the armies; and having himself furnished 32,000 horses, and 7500 carriages. The Republic hired the horses—at four or five livres a day, and 650 livres for every horse that died. The Public Accuser belonging to the Revolutionary Tribunal, paid with a few words of impeachment, the whole debt due to M. d’Espagnac. Every week, some contractor, or director of the public works, loses his head on the scaffold.

## Note 7. Page 160.

During the siege of Dunkirk, Calais could obtain from the Convention only 3000 pounds weight of powder. In the month of March last, they could send only 14,000 pounds weight to Cambray, and 39,000 lib. to Strasburgh, Metz, and Thionville. They commonly promise to an armed town, 2000 musquets,—and at the distance of a month after, send no more than 400 or 500.

## Note 8. Page 163.

In January last, the inhabitants of Versailles were reduced to 28,600 souls; these were miserable through want and remorse. The park, which was an ornament to nature and royalty, has been, for the greater part, assigned to those poor creatures. They are at present given to hope, that 12 Committees of the Convention will be fixed among them. Barrere avowed to some of his friends, that the Castle of Versailles was soon to become the palace of the *Executive Council of the Republic*, and gave orders for the reparation of its walls. That fellow, whose reports are a disgrace to the very trumpet of infamy, has had the presumption to think of taking up his residence in the palace of the Kings of France.

## Note 9. Page 165.

In several parts of Picardy and Normandy, and in some of the sections of Paris, it is, every day, said openly : “ Let us buy the property of “ the emigrants, and enjoy, without paying for “ it. We must, one day, no doubt, surrender “ it to their children or other heirs ; but, in the “ mean time, we had better take it among our- “ selves, than leave it to be eaten up, by the ad- “ ministrators.”

## Note 10. Page 165.

As to the revenues of the French Republic, for the last year ; the *land-tax* was fixed at 300 millions ; the tax upon *moveables*, at 60 millions ; but these together, produced 145 millions more ; (the unprivileged land on which a tax of 100 livres, was five years ago imposed, now paying about 225 livres for the same extent ; and the artisan or householder who, at Paris and the other great towns, paid formerly 5 livres of capitation-tax, now paying nearly three times that sum) ; timber, the customs, and duties upon registrations of deeds, yielded 113 millions : The national domains afforded 206 millions : In all, about 830 millions.

For this year, may be reckoned, in addition to those 830 millions, 391 millions of a forced loan,

loan, the raising of which was decreed in the month of September last; and about 40 millions, the value of that property of which the owners have been assassinated by the Convention, since the 1st of April last.

Note 11. Page 167.

There never was, perhaps, a more striking proof of the power of hope in the human heart, than that which I am about to relate. A Gentleman, estimable not less for his great personal worth, than for his incorruptible attachment to the cause of his King, having been cast into one of the 65 prisons of Paris, there found a young lady, whose high birth and virtues had occasioned her confinement. Their circumstances being, in all other respects, suitable, they agreed to marry. Their relations, who were confined with them, gave also their consent. A priest, who was soon to suffer for his virtues, on the scaffold, gave them the nuptial benediction. Nuptial presents were made. A jeweller of Paris, furnished the young couple with jewels to the value of 28,000 livres. I shall not mention their names; as they remain still in confinement.

Note 12. Page 168.

The *national Bankruptcy* is at this time, so arranged, in France; and every individual, howe-



ver mean, is so fully persuaded of its having in fact taken place ; that I will venture to affirm ; that whenever openly declared, it can do no harm to the then existing government. A *National Bankruptcy* would be considered as a public blessing by all the national creditors. There is no one of them who would not gladly give up three fourths of his property, to obtain the secure enjoyment of the remainder. I may, with equal confidence, affirm, that, excepting a few of the Agents of the Committee of Public Safety, the greater number of the Purchasers of the National Property, and of those who possess the Property of the Clergy, would yield up all to obtain peace and safety. Almost all the purchasers have already drawn out of their estates, by advantageous bargains, and by great dilapidations, more than the capital value which they paid for them, at first, to the nation. Many of them are in prison, or threatened with imprisonment : for the possession of an estate purchased from the national domains, is now as dangerous, as the possession of a patrimonial inheritance. The people groaning under the weight of taxes and requisitions, have in different provinces expressed their regret of those times, when they were subject to tithes, the tax upon estimated wealth, and the feudal rights. They possess little of the national lands ; and they long again for

for those great proprietors, between whose vices and virtues, *they* were sure of subsistence. I have seen no merchant, labourer, or artisan; who did not allow this.

Note 13. Page 171.

The Committee of Public Safety have made three attempts upon the Parisian prisons. The design of the *first*, was to massacre the party of Brissot then in confinement; as they were afraid to bring them to trial. The 10th of August 1793, was chosen for the day of that assassination. Money and strong liquors were dealt out, in great abundance. But the Federates loudly declared that they had not come to Paris, to act the part of murderers; and 900 of them, among whom were all the Federates of Bretagne, left Paris, on the 8th and 9th, taking with them the Committee's hundred crowns each. The 37 sections of Paris guarded the prisons for eight days, and declared that they would defend them against any assaults of Cut-throats.

It was resolved, in the month of December last, to force the prisons, and to massacre the 65 deputies in confinement: but the sections again interposed, with the same steady determination of making resistance.

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In the month of April, the Committee revived their plan for a massacre; but were still disappointed by the opposition of the sections.

Note 14. Page 172.

It would be difficult for any person who has not witnessed the facts, to form a just idea of the cowardly barbarity of the juries acting under the Committee of Public Safety.—The Revolutionary Tribunal of Arras have distinguished themselves by unheard of cruelties. In the haunts of debauchery, and the rendezvouses of prostitution, the juries of that Tribunal pass their sentences; and publish them, on the day following. The executioners exercise their wit, in rallying those whom they are sent to assassinate.

For about these four months last, the prisoners have been forbidden all intercourse with persons from without. They suffer the most barbarous treatment. The coarsest fare is cast in to them, under the inspection of Commissaries from the Committee of Public Safety,—by narrow apertures, which are instantly shut. Even this is often threatened to be withheld from them. Some women in labour, died for want of proper assistance in the prison *des dames Anglaises*, in the street *des fosses St Victor*, at Luxemburgh,—and in that of the *grand Camelites*. *So much labour, spared, to the executioner!* said Billaud-Varennés, when

when he was asked to allow a physician to go into the prison. There are many times, 40 persons in the same room. Several have requested the Committee of Public Safety, and the Public Accuser, rather to send them straight to the scaffold. Under a petition of this nature, Couthon wrote ; “ *You have not, citizen, been long in the humour for dying.*”

NOTE 15. Page 173.

Collot d’Herbois, Phelippeaux, Guffroy, and Tallien, have several times, solicited a woman’s favours, with an order for her arrest in their hands.—Collot d’Herbois first basely availed himself of the fears of a young woman, sixteen years of age, and then delivered her over to the jailor of the prison of St Pelagie. Grammont, lieutenant-general of the Revolutionary Army at Paris, wrote to a respectable lady, a letter ending in these words: *Your fate is in your own hands ; death, or a divorce from your Royalist-husband !* Billaud-Varrennes sent orders that HIS OWN FATHER, who was an obscure attorney of the town of la Rochelle, but a blameless character, in esteem with his neighbours,—should be taken under arrest, and delivered over to the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris. The old man, who had long since been made unhappy by the wickedness

wickedness of his son, died of a broken heart, and escaped the intended parricide.

Note 16. Page 174.

All bankers and exchange-brokers were, in October last, required to bring in to Cambon's Committee, all the draughts or letters of exchange which they had upon Foreigners, and were paid the amount in assignats at *par*. This act of robbery afforded to the Committee, only 270,000 pounds Sterling, and about 600,000 florins (at 2 shillings and 6 pence Sterling.) All merchants were at this time obliged to send their books of accompts to Cambon; who found criminals and victims in all quarters.

Persons taken into custody, were, to the very last, forced to pay the taxes upon their estates, even after the sequestration of those estates, and when no person dared act as agent or attorney for the prisoners. "They will find money," said Amar and Guffroy; "let them dig up what they have hid under ground, if they desire to get out of prison; or let them shew themselves good citizens, and borrow." This was *Affassin's* wit.

Note 17. Page 175.

It has been calculated, that, 1150 reams of paper are daily consumed in Paris. The price

is now five times as high as it was, before the Revolution; notwithstanding the regulation of the *maximum*. The publication of Every decree costs 83,000 livres (at  $9\frac{3}{4}$  pence). On the first of April last, there had been 6800 decrees passed by the three successive Assemblies.

Note 18. Page 175.

Dagomè, commissary and national agent, for the district of Louviers, by purchasing from retail dealers in the country, at rates above the *maximum*, and then alarming their fears, and abusing his own power, extorted from them, the sum of 33,000 livres. A person of the name of Ross, Constitutional Parson of the parish of Gaillon, in the same district, plundered the country, in the name of Roberspierre, of about 10,000 livres,—and of nearly 15,000 livres, in the name of La Croix,—with the same armour of the *maximum*. Lindet, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, required, upon the same pretext, 45,000 livres from a manufacturer of Elbœuf, before he would set him at liberty.

Note 18. Page 175.

Although, in the month of May, a *Louis* cost only 50 or 55 livres—assignats; it would be a mistake, to estimate the price of commodities, by

by the difference between the sign of value with which they are honestly paid for,—and that pretended sign of value, which is nothing better than a tyrannical order to deliver them, without receiving payment. Trade rarely returns from its contempt for paper-money once fallen into discredit, to regard it with its primary respect. Commodities are sold at the price they bore, when assignats could hardly be passed at any value. Both those articles on which the law of the *maximum* has fallen, and those which it has spared, are sold at an enormous advanced price. Cloth of Peignon, for instance, is now sold at the fair price of 150 or 160 livres an ell; in 1790, it cost only 45 or 48 livres an ell. Shoes are sold from 25 to 30 livres a pair; although all the shoemakers are obliged to furnish ten pairs every ten days, to the Revolutionary Committees, at 6 livres 10 sols a pair. The price of all necessaries must inevitably continue to rise, in France, till the end of the war; because the war carries all such things out of the country, and eats up all the means of subsistence.

A private person pays for labour 3 livres in the day: the republic gives 5 livres. Butcher's meat cost from 35 to 38 sols a pound, at Paris, in the month of April. Even in Normandy, the price was 24 sols; although, as Normandy, and

great part of Picardy, had refused to send their cattle to the markets of Paris,—butcher's meat, was consequently much cheaper in those provinces, than it would otherwise have been. Of all the provinces of France, those two have the most steadily rejected or eluded the law of the *maximum*.

Notes 20 and 21. Page 176.

The Committees of Public Safety and General Security have sold certificates of residence, more in number than the laws they have made. Not to name Offelin, Chabot, and Fabre, &c. who carried on this traffic openly; I shall mention that Guffroy, (who over and above, has the profits of a journal intituled *Rougiff*), that Amar, Panis, Sergeant, Tallien, Collot d'Herbois, &c. sell for money, even their slightest signature; that the two last shared with Barrere, 123,000 livres in coin and about 37,000 livres in plate, which were taken from the Marchioness de Crussol d'Amboise; that Barrere exacted from an emigrant the sum of 325,000 livres for stopping the prosecution upon his emigration; treated with Abbé de la Tremouille for the reversion of his house,—and engaged to withdraw the sequestration from his property, amounting to 900,000 livres; received 90,000 livres from the family of M. Chaudot, Notary, *Rue Platriere* in Paris, up-

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on his promise to prevail with the Convention to annul the sentence of death pronounced against M. Chaudot by the Revolutionary Tribunal ; which sentence, after all, was not annulled. Tallien fold 57 passports at Bourdeaux ; and it is certain that he received 180,000 livres, &c.

“ What is her innocence to us ? ” said the members of the Committee of the Convention, to administrators, soliciting the release of a certain lad from confinement ; “ She is rich and therefore guilty ; neither name nor family is necessary to obedience ; whoever has not been born a sans-culotte, must be very clever, to escape the revolutionary tribunal.” These were the words of Amar and Guffroy ; and such is the language daily held in the Committees.

The Committee of General Security coolly calculate the money which will be produced by such and such assassinations. Cambon speaking of the account he had received concerning the 133 merchants, sent from Nantz to Paris, publicly declared that the sum total of their capitals was 624 millions. Twenty nine of these victims perished in three days : it is believed, that they were poisoned, at their entrance into the prisons of Paris. The fortune of any private person is so evidently the measure of his guilt, that from those in custody, an exact inventory is required of their property, and an account

count of their political life, since the 4th of May 1789 ; upon which, the sentence pronounced upon them is always founded. The widow and children of a man condemned to death, are always reduced to extreme misery ; For the Committee of Public Safety, when they cut off an innocent person, always confiscate the whole pro- of his family.

Note 22. Page 179.

The Committee of Public Safety sent commissaries, three different times, to St Denis. The inhabitants of that town prevented the opening of the vaults till the month of December last. At that time, the statues of the KINGS and QUEENS of France were broken in pieces : and all the remains of the two first races destroyed. The tombs were opened, the coffins melted down, and the bones burnt or scattered. TURENNE was exposed to the eyes of the deputies, and they all laid sacrilegious hands upon his remains. It is impossible to relate or conceive, with what base barbarity, the wretches deputed from the Convention rifled the tombs, and ravaged the vaults of the Church of St Denis.

The Mausolæa of LOUIS XII. FRANCIS I. and TURENNE were spared. The genius of mischief perhaps recoiled before those master-pieces of art. The remains of the Bourbons were happily abstracted.

stracted from the sacrilege of the Commissaries, and deposited in a private burial-place, by the fortunate fidelity of a Servant.

Note 23. Page 180.

I have asserted that Marat was poisoned by Roberfpierre, and upon equal strength of proof (however improbable the fact may appear to the Public) I have advanced that Roberfpierre, prompted the assassination by Charlotte Corday. She died, crying *Vive la republic!* Her depositions, and all particulars that could be learned concerning her, from the time of her arrival at Paris, to her death, are such as to leave no doubt, that she fancied herself acting for the preservation of liberty.

This is perhaps the proper place, to assure my readers, that I have not endeavoured to calumniate the Jacobins: nay I consider the thing to be impossible. Their conduct for these last two years has been inexpressibly perfidious, barbarous, and profligate; and I have only attempted to describe them such as they are. I am now more than ever, convinced, that, not the extent of their resources, nor the force of their abilities, but the enormity of their wickedness, and the number of their emissaries, have produced and maintained their successes. The Deputies in the Convention are not more contemptible, than condemned by  
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the lowest populace of Paris ; it is impossible to be unjust to them, otherwise than by ascribing to them virtues, or feelings of remorse.

Note 24. Page 180.

The Parisian populace loudly swear by Marat and le Pelletier St Fargeau. On the very day of their *inauguration*, the more strikingly blasphemous comparisons were made with respect to them. The Pantheon has been stripped of its masterpieces of sculpture, and of every thing that once gave it the solemnity of a temple of religion. And this most august of the sacred edifices of Paris, is now consecrated to the memory of monsters, the disgrace of human nature.

Note 25. Page 181.

Almost all the squares and streets of Paris, have undergone a change of name. Most of the commonalties round that city have named themselves *Brutus*, *Marat*, *Mutius-scaevola*, *Sans-culottide*, &c. There was occasion for new names, as for a new division of time, and for new crimes.

Note 26. Page 182.

The people, in general, submit very sullenly to those novelties ; and, in Paris, laugh openly at the names of *Germinal*, *la Decade*, *Primidi*. In the

the country, the Republican Calendar requires great attention. On every Sunday, the peasants are sent to prison, if they presume to put on their Sunday's clothes.

Note 27. Page 184.

At Paris, and in various commonalties in the Republic, the following inscription is set up over the burying grounds ; *This is the place of everlasting sleep.* A poplar with the colours and other emblems of republican guilt, is usually planted over a grave after it is closed.

Note 28. Page 184.

Beggars fill the streets of Paris, and infest the passages into the hall of the Convention. They often mingle with the legislators, and fill the palace of the Thuilleries with their vociferations. After a month's denial, they obtained the decree for the restoration of all those effects, not exceeding, severally, 50 livres in value, which had been deposited at Mont-de-Piété. All the laws issued by the Convention against beggary, prove only their weakness, and its growth. In the month of January, the Common-Council were obliged to give them beds, and some scanty alimment, to keep them in life ; and they then amounted to the number of 77,000.

Note

## Note 29. Page 185.

Ashes, old leather, and linen-rags, are in requisition. No person in France can consider himself, as master of any of his effects.

## Note 30. Page 186.

The Convention is no where more abhorred than at Paris. The people never see a deputy dragged to the scaffold, without saying aloud, in the very court of the Thuilleries ; *We shall have the pleasure of seeing all the deputies go to the scaffold, in turn.* Five hundred men, resolved to conquer or perish, might dissolve the Convention, and make themselves masters of the capital.

## Note 31, or 32. Page 189.

These facts were confessed by Pierry *aide-de-camp* to Santerre ; who concealed none of the horrors inflicted on La Vendee ; not even, that 300 lib. of poison had been sent by the Committee of Public Safety to poison the wines and wells of the country. His declarations were confirmed by Francis la Primaudiere, deputy to the Convention, from Sable, who had been sent to the departments of Mayenne and Loire.

Note

## Note 33. Page 191.

The Convention have betrayed their dread of the name of La Tremouille in La Vendee ; and have left no means untried, to prevent its influence. They supposed that La Tremouille had declared himself, King of Maine and Poitou. They spread, several times, a report of his death, and at last ordered him to be brought to Paris, and executed in the square of the Revolution. *The People of Paris, are they whom it is of the most consequence to undeceive ; so said La Primaudiere, and Sevestre, deputy from Rennes, (a man whose courage, craft, and abilities render him exceedingly dangerous) ; we must shew them on the scaffold, those great names which they still foolishly venerate ; we must teach them to join us in calling the Royalists of La Vendee, robbers ; otherwise they may perhaps refuse to march against them.*

## Note 34. Page 192.

Even Pelletier St Fargeau, the intimate friend of Robespierre, who wore the tyrant's picture on his breast ; who skulked on the 1st of May 1792, after having promised to bring the skull of the major of the dragoon regiment de la Tour to the Jacobin Club, and there drink out of it the blood of the last Gentleman in France ! St

Fargeau in the space of 24 hours, translated, studied, and vented his abuse upon—the English Constitution. Never was there another such mixture of folly and wickedness.

Note 35. Page 193.

To account for the victories and fears of the Committee of Public Safety, we should be acquainted with the baseness and tyranny of its members. The most striking contradictions appear, every day, in their conduct. They do and undo, resolve and retract their resolutions, tremble and massacre. Wallowing in debauchery, scorned by the people,—in success, they affect the most extravagant pride,—upon misfortune, they are most pitifully dispirited. At three different times, they thought themselves in great danger. In September 1792, they were upon the point of quitting Paris, and retiring to the *Bordelais*; in August 1793, they were about to disperse themselves through the county of *Venaissie*; in March last, they were preparing to take their flight into Switzerland.

The Members of the Committee of Public Safety are persuaded, that the very people who now applaud and support them, would, with abhorrence abandon them, upon the approach of the Allied Powers; and would, in an instant, cry *Perish all the deputies!* if there were a vic-

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torious army within sight of the capital. Such words have been heard from Barrere; and Roberfpierre shares his fears.

Note 36. Page 193.

In every court and garden, the trembling Parisians have planted pot-herbs. They have potatoes in the very walks of the garden of the Thuilleries. The English gardens have been every where plowed up for such purposes; as the style of these, would have been enough to make their proprietors suspected of counter-revolutionary purposes.

Note 37. Page 194.

In some sections of Paris, and in some of the neighbouring communities, an inventory has been made of the ships in the Thames,—of the gold, silver, rich stuffs, iron, and horses, in the city of London. The Sans-culottes have been promised to have the sack of the English capital, at their discretion.

Note 38. Page 261.

Every day, men may be heard, saying aloud in the streets; *All these executions afford us no bread. We were an hundred times happier under the, old government, against which there has been*  
so

*so much crying out. There were abuses ; but we  
bad wherewithall to live, &c.*

Chaudron-Rouffseau, Deputy from the Upper  
Marne, who heard these words, said ; *I have  
heard many others such, at Paris, and elsewhere.  
If the Committee of Public Safety should send all  
who talk thus, to the scaffold ; they would never  
have done.*

V.

## V.

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*HEADS of a SPEECH delivered by ST JUSTE, in the COMMITTEE of PUBLIC SAFETY; concerning the NEGOCIATIONS of FRANCE with the NEUTRAL POWERS, in the course of the PRESENT WAR.*

**I**N the discussion of a proposal for granting advantages in Trade, to the NEUTRAL POWERS, which might encourage their intercourse with France, during the war ;

ST JUSTE took occasion to state :

That, even the GREAT POWERS of Europe, driven into combination against the French Republic, by their common danger, and common fears ; although *ostensibly* united ; were divided, *in reality*, by their general avarice, mutual hatred, and secret jealousies ; were, in their hearts, more hostile to one another, than to the French, against whom they fought ; and injured their  
own

own cause more by the manner in which they rejoiced continually to thwart, to disconcert, and to enfeeble one another,—than it could possibly be injured by any success of the French Arms :

That, the NEUTRAL POWERS had continued neutral ; not because their Governments were friendly to the progress and the final establishment of French Liberty ; but, because the internal state of their dominions, and the temper of ~~their~~ subjects, did not admit of their taking up arms ; because they doubted the issue of the contest, and wished to temporize with the victors ; because they found it singularly lucrative, to engross, at least the whole carrying trade—of all the Powers at war :

That, for these reasons, it was unnecessary, that the French should anxiously court them to remain neutral ; they were neutral by necessity :

That, the French had, however, with folly and prodigality alike astonishing, *bribed them*, at an enormous expence, to abide by a policy ; from which it was impossible, that they should deviate, however disposed towards the French :

That 40 millions of livres, or rather 70 millions, —if the jewels were estimated at their full value, —had been vainly lavished in bribing the weak and corrupt ministry of the OTTOMAN PORTE,—by the hands of two rascally ambassadors, Henin and Descorches ; yet, instead of going to war with  
Russia ;

Russia; as the true interests of the Turkish Empire required them to do, in the present crisis, the Turks had only suffered themselves to be persuaded not to co-operate with the enemies of France :

That the SWEDES, after the murder of their King, were unable to go to war, either in Alliance with the French, or against them; yet still received subsidies from France; as if they were capable of mischief, if those subsidies were withdrawn!

That DENMARK, also neutral through weakness, want, and policy, nevertheless drained the treasures of France,—in subsidies,—in bribes to royal favourites and mistresses,—in payment for corn, which could hardly cost dearer, if it were gold-dust,—and for stores which were never received :

That the SWISS CANTONS, enervated by long peace and habitual venality; unfitted by the nature of their association, for the firm union necessary to effectual war; finding their interest in a neutrality, which gave them peace at home, while it left them at liberty to hire out their troops to the Combined Powers; were, however, bought, not to declare themselves against France, at a vain expence of already more than 40 millions, to which millions were continually added, without purchasing aught but cold and unavailing neutrality :

That

*Entirely new domestic to do as you!*

That, the neutrality of GENOA had been purchased at the expence of 54 millions in the space of three months; in order *that* its merchants might supply the French Republic with grain; and *that* Republican Conspiracies might be hatched there, to spread the principles of liberty and equality through all Italy; the one object accomplished with sufficient success; the other hopeless, and never skilfully pursued:

That even at VENICE, which could neither injure, nor serve the French, otherwise than by hindering or permitting French Couriers to pass through the Venetian territories, on their way to and from Constantinople, 3,000,000 of livres had been wasted; on the pretence, indeed, of overturning the Venetian Government by a conspiracy; but without any apparent effects, from which it could be inferred that the idea of such a conspiracy had ever been conceived in Venice:

That, the negociations of the French in TUSCANY, had been equally expensive, and still more fruitless:

That, most of the ambassadors whom the French had employed to negotiate in their name, with the above neutral powers; being block-heads and scoundrels; ought to be recalled, and *Guillotined*:

That, the subsidies to the neutral powers ought, for all those reasons, to be, for the future, withheld;

withheld; no more bribes to be secretly distributed among them, in the view of buying factious partisans to Republicanism; but, those powers to be left to consult their natural interests, and Republicanism to win, among them, as it could, partisans to itself:

But, That money ought to be largely distributed among the avowed enemies of the French; and Traitors, Assassins, or Deferters from the grand Alliance, to be bought from among them, at whatever expence.

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The Authenticity of the above speech, appears certain, from its agreement, in almost all particulars, with subsequent events, with the statements of Montgaillard, and with reports since made, in the French Convention.

## VI.

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*STATE of PARTIES, &c. in FRANCE, from MAY  
last, to the middle of OCTOBER.*

AT the date to which the preceding articles refer, the *Population* and the *Capital Stock* of France were *wasted* by the war, and by intestine, revolutionary dissensions; the *former*, as it should seem, at the rate of *seven hundred thousand lives*, lost in the year, above what were reproduced by birth; the *latter*, at the rate of *one hundred and fifty millions of pounds Sterling*, in the year, not merely transferred from hand to hand, but absolutely consumed, and lost to the Nation, without being supplied by any reproduction of labour. The Nation continued to endure the Revolutionary Government, for no other reason, but because those, who, amidst the convulsions of the Revolution, had gained power, property, and licence, which they could not otherwise have acquired, were as yet sufficiently

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numerous,



numerous, resolute, and active, to hold the rest in thralldom. The nation was divided into two great parties; the PATRIOTS and the ANTI-PATRIOTS: *One* consisting of the Revolutionary Societies,—or rather the Committees of those Societies,—and of the predominant part of the deputies in the Convention, the municipal magistrates, and the administrators in the departments; *the other* comprehending all the rest, the suffering part of the people. At the head of the *former* was Robespierre, who enjoyed their full confidence: Since the fall of Brissot and his confederates, the *latter* had been without any conspicuous, active leader, but remained confounded by horror, fear, and mutual jealousies. The *Sections of Paris* seemed inclined to mediate between the two parties; and it is not certain, that, the *Armies*, if disbanded, might not have taken part against the Revolutionary Committees. But, in the mean time, these Committees and their creatures, had all the active, efficient powers of the Republic in their hands.—This is, with respect to the state of parties and public expenditure in France, the sum of what is contained in the foregoing details.

Success crowned the plans which the reigning party had framed for the conduct of the summer-campaign. Their resources failed not. The *requisitions* were effectually enforced; all murmurs were still repressed by indefatigable

ble vigilance, and relentless cruelty : on the one hand, selfish and sensual passions, exalted and sanctified by enthusiasm; on the other, helpless terror, still continued to do their respective offices. Victory or misfortune were still alike abused by Robespierre and his party, as new occasions for increased rigour against the rest of the Nation.

But, there is a point, below which it is impossible to urge the impressions of fear, upon the human heart. When submission ceases to be more safe than resistance, almost every living creature then dares to resist. Every new act of oppression began now to excite symptoms which seemed to shew, that the suffering party would speedily determine to suffer no longer. Jealousies, endless intrigues; arrogance in the leaders; collisions of avarice, lust, and ambition; and the impossibility there is, that a multitude of wicked men should long remain in perfect union among themselves; produced continual divisions among the prevailing party. Some began to intrigue with the ANTI-PATRIOTS whom they had oppressed, that they might thus provide a resource against dangers which they knew, would overtake themselves, in their turn. Many were, from time to time, excluded by repeated *purgations*, out of the Revolutionary Societies. Some were indignant at finding themselves condemned to insignificance,

by

by the overbearing activity of their fellows. Others aspiring still to higher and higher authority, began to treat all openly or secretly, as their enemies, who seemed likely to obstruct their ascent, or endanger their elevation. ROBERSPIERRE especially, the most apparently disinterested; the most artful; the best informed; the most prudent; and perhaps also, where intrepidity could be useful, the most intrepid of all the popular demagogues; was, at the same time, the most ambitious, and the readiest to sacrifice friendship and humanity, to the gratification of his ambition.

His exertions had made his party triumphant over the Brissotines. To him they owed, in a great measure, that despotic supremacy which they had assumed in the legislature and the executive government. While he strove only to promote the cause of republicanism, he gradually became, by the energy and the success of his exertions, a more remarkable and considerable object, to himself and to others about him, than even that republicanism for which he laboured. He began to think of appropriating to himself the prize for which the furious republicans had contended: and he, in the mean time, was the conspicuous leader to whom all their crimes were attributed. He strove, with that view, to purge the revolutionary societies, till none should remain

maintain them, who were not so weak or so devoted to him, that they could not become formidable, nor so guilty, that he might cut them off, whenever they should threaten to desert from his interests. But, upon every execution, upon every successive *purgation* of the Revolutionary Societies, new weight was still thrown into the opposite scale. The Dictator became every day, more and more arbitrary and despotic; but his condition became at the same time every day more precariously dangerous. When that conspiracy was formed against him, concerning which Montgaillard has given some hints in the above postscript; he was preparing, perhaps too incautiously, to dissolve the Convention, to make the Committees more effectually and submissively subservient to him, and to concentrate the whole power of the Revolutionary Societies, without appeal, in his own person. Had he found the Sections of Paris, as little able to make effectual resistance to his purposes, as were the Revolutionary Committees and the Convention; his success had been sure.

But while he was about to be betrayed by his own arrogance, and by the profligate misconduct of those whom he employed, as his instruments; all whom their own fears or his suspicions had lately driven to take part with the ANTI-PATRIOT party, had begun to combine, and to rally against him and his adherents. By the additions

additions which it thus received, that party became nearly a match for the furious Republicans, and their Revolutionary Committees. When Robespierre had laid his toils, and was ready to strike the blow which would have broken even his own party, and would have given the French Revolutionists, in his person, a despot, more formidable and more odious than their ancient kings. He was impeached, upon frivolous pretences, in the Convention; the efforts of his adherents, to protect him, were repressed by the Revolutionary army of Paris; and to the astonishment of France, and of Europe, he was suddenly hurled from the height of his power, to perish on the scaffold.

The defection of partisans *from* the party of the PATRIOTS and the Revolutionary Committees, to that confusion of parties which those men had oppressed; had been so great, for some time before the overthrow of Robespierre; that the ANTI-PATRIOTS were now directed by men who had been the most servile and active instruments of the oppression under which they had groaned. The death of Robespierre produced therefore no signal convulsion in the Republic. So many of those who had acted with him almost to the last, were concerned in accomplishing his death, that they also must have been involved in almost any impeachment laid against any considerable  
number

number of his remaining adherents. Although the ANTI-PATRIOTS had succeeded so far as to destroy Roberspierre; yet their opponents were still too powerful to be overcome, and dispersed in consequence of the loss of a single leader. The party of Roberspierre, however willing to avenge his death, yet durst not venture upon an open and desperate opposition to those by whom it had been effected. Neither party knew certainly, whether the armies would not declare for their opponents. The people were now, in general, as warmly the friends of the ANTI-PATRIOTS, as they had, before the requisitions, been the friends of the leading REVOLUTIONISTS. Private interest and private intrigues were busily intermingled with the principles and views of the leaders of the two parties. Some slight efforts made, on the one side, to subject the Convention and the ANTI-PATRIOTS, once more to the tyrannical fury of the Revolutionary Committees; and on the other to urge the temporary disturbances, to a complete counter-revolution, in favour of the nobles, the clergy, and monarchy; proved on both sides alike ineffectual.

But the perfect reconciliation and union of the two parties were impossible. If they broke not out into civil war, it was only equal weakness, or common fears, that restrained them. Some leading members of the Convention, who had  
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been the last to join the conspiracy against Roberespierre, would gladly have set themselves, in his stead, at the head of the party of the *Clubs* and *Revolutionary Committees*; but could not regain their confidence. The former leaders of the ANTI-PATRIOTS in the Convention, wished to deliver those to trial and execution, who, after being the base instruments of Roberespierre's crimes, had at the last betrayed him. But these men have hitherto been protected partly by their newly acquired friends, and partly by their former party. In the mean time, however, the ANTI-PATRIOTS have skilfully prosecuted their triumph over Roberespierre; and the Revolutionary Committees are not likely long to survive their Demagogue. The shew of a milder government; the prospects of peace held out; the odium and horror into which their rivals had brought themselves; and the victories which have continued to crown the French Armies; have brought the ANTI-PATRIOT leaders into a temporary popularity, higher and more general than has been enjoyed perhaps by any party, since the first labours of the Constituent Assembly were closed. It is possible, that Barrere and those others who have been repeatedly accused, with him, in the Convention, might bargain for their own safety, when they betrayed Roberespierre. They may therefore be protected for some time longer from the revenge  
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of the enemies who so perseveringly pursue them. But they will not finally escape.

Nor will the present rulers long retain their authority. The party by which they have been raised to power, is made up of shreds, which cannot long cohere. To gratify their party; and to conciliate the favour of the people in general, by a system directly opposite in its spirit, to that of the PATRIOTS; they have relaxed the energy and vigilance absolutely necessary to a Government that would carry on a war, or accomplish a Revolution. With the Revolutionary Societies, the strength and enthusiasm of the French Revolution, must inevitably perish. The ANTI-PATRIOTS are at present popular, for no other reason, but because they have loosened the reins of authority, and have persuaded the people, that no more sacrifices are to be demanded from them. One signal defeat suffered by the French Armies, since the death of Robespierre, would assuredly have driven the ANTI-PATRIOT leaders from the helm of Government, and would have consigned them to the dungeon and the scaffold. Should they obtain peace from the Allied Powers before the return of Spring? The return of the Armies must, in this case, immediately produce a new change of government, and a new distribution of property. Should the Allies deny them peace? they retain not authority to enforce new requisitions



requisitions and other compulsory loans; nor can France afford these for another campaign. The ANTI-PATRIOTS have left it impossible for themselves to remain in power, without giving the nation, peace; they have made it impossible for the PATRIOTS, to resume their former authority, and renew the war. If the Allies shall refuse peace to the French, otherwise than upon the condition of the re-establishment of monarchy in France; monarchy must be re-established. If peace shall be granted to them, without the stipulation of the abolition of republicanism; yet the return, and the dissolution of the armies can hardly fail to bring about the restoration of Royalty. All the measures pursued by the ANTI-PATRIOTS have tended directly, although perhaps undesignedly, to this end.

But, is not France mightily enriched by conquests; by the prodigious fertility of her soil and climate under every disadvantage; by industry more vigorous, more ingenious, more active, than was ever before exerted? It is far otherwise. The most flattering Reports lately made in the Convention, confess, that certain districts had, even in the happy harvest of the present year, proved wholly barren. Agriculture can never be pursued with tolerable success, while its labourers and its products are subject to arbitrary requisition. Neutral Nations

tions will furnish provisions or military stores, only while money or commodities can be readily paid for them : And money or commodities the French Government have not to pay for the imports necessary to another year's war ; unless they should raise them by acts of desperate tyranny ; which they have no longer energy to perpetrate. Saltpetre must be miserably wanted in a country, where that which can be made from a few horse-chestnuts, is valued as a vast supply ? What are their boasted inventions ? Such others as those ingenious inventions of our countrymen, which are, every day, in great multitudes, celebrated in the puffing advertisements in our British Newspapers ; those medicines that give immortal health and vigour to the human frame ; those books, fraught with angelic wit ; those engines for labour, which supersede the necessity of human exertion ; those securities against injury, which encourage man to bid defiance to the rage of the elements or the wreck of nature ; those spectacles which are fitted to supply the want of eyes ; those wash-balls which communicate an *invisible* edge to the very *back* of a razor ! Nay : If boasted inventions in the arts, are to render any Nation for ever invincible ; It is beyond all controversy, certain, that the British Nation must be an hundred times more so, than any other People, ancient

cient or modern. What is new or wonderful in the raising of conspicuous signals, within reciprocally visible distances ; and in discerning objects so minute as a *cypher*,--with a *large enough* prospective glass or telescope (the *Telegraphe*) ? Have we ceased to trifle with *balloons*, for any other reason, than because we found them good for nothing, but to be play-things to children ? Will the pretended discoveries of the French for facilitating the art of *diving*, enable them to match the skill, the vigour, or the intrepidity of British sailors ? It is a good jest for them to talk of the invention of a *flying bridge*, to rescue from death by fire, when they have spread over their whole empire, one wide-wasting flame !—But, they are enriched by their conquests ? Not at least by their late conquest of Flanders : A country that has been, for three years the seat of war, will not, at the end of that period,---unless war could change its nature, and counteract its own necessary effects,---afford much to enrich the victors. Count the useful labour wasted by withdrawing soldiers from peaceful industry: the provisions, clothes, ammunition, and armour consumed ; the enormous profits unavoidably paid to contractors ; the lives lost by disease or the sword ; the recruits withheld from population ; Count all these, and the thousand other losses and inconveniencies attending war ; and then say, whether

whether any People have ever been enriched by its successes? What well fortified, and suitably garrisoned town is there, which, however large its magazines, does not cost its assailants infinitely more in the siege, than it can possibly afford upon its capture? Heaps of gold! waggon-loads of silver! conveyed from Flanders to France! Such are the false pretences with which the present rulers of the French Republic, amuse the Nation; while, like the Cyclops with the companions of Ulysses, they devour them, one by one; taking still the fattest first.

Such, then, is the present state of parties in France, that, those who now possess the appearance of supreme authority, cannot preserve it, without obtaining peace in the course of the opening winter; nor can their opponents regain their ancient power without purchasing it at the same price. Such is the exhausted state of the national wealth and population, that all the original enthusiasm of the French Republicans, would not now enable them to find resources for the prosecution of the war through another campaign. Their very conquests are ruinous, and serve only to inflame the murmurs of a people, who are astonished, that so many victories should still lead to nothing but new requisitions. The inventions in the arts which they proclaim with  
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the most ridiculous self-gratulation and praise, are trifles, either not new, or else, vain as the change of the form of a buckle, or of the cut of a coat \*.

\* The information in the above article, is founded wholly upon the proceedings of the French Convention; as related, (from the *Moniteur* I believe), in the London daily papers,—the Courier, the Morning Chronicle, the Star, and the Sun. Agreeably to what has been above asserted of the impossibility that so disjointed and incoherent a party as the French *Anti-Patriots*, should for any considerable time, continue to act in union; I observe in the latest accounts of the proceedings of the Convention, that the remains of the Federalists are now making a violent effort, to destroy the last deserters from the party of Roberfpierre.

## VII.

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### *REFLECTIONS on the EVENTS of the present CAMPAIGN.*

OF these what shall be said, but that they have been invariably disastrous to the Allies, glorious and fortunate to the French?

It is not so. The Allies must be confessed to have committed many errors in the course of the campaign of 1793. Dumourier ought not to have been suffered, upon any pretext, to lead his shattered forces, unmolested from Nerwinde to the confines of French Flanders, at a time when Cobourg and Clairfait might easily have cut them entirely off. The first declaration of Cobourg, however rash, ought not to have been retracted: The state of parties in France, and the progress of events, would soon have afforded  
fair

fair reason for departing from it, so far as might have been necessary, in order to re-establish a monarchy, limited, yet not wanting power to guard its own existence, and maintain its own authority. La Fayette and Dumourier ought not, indeed, to have been trusted; but not to have been, the one cast to rot in a dungeon, the other driven out as a fugitive; for the ill treatment of two such men, was plainly calculated to deter others from among the French, from following their example; and by consequence, to cement the union of the Republicans. With whatever difficulty, at however desperate a risk, at any expence however enormous; a fuller correspondence, and a more perfect mutual intelligence ought to have been kept up, by the Allies, with those who were, in any degree, disposed to join them, within France. The different generals ought not, immediately upon entering the French territories, to have divided their views and their forces, and set themselves to act upon incompatible plans. As many of the Emigrants as could possibly be assembled, ought to have been embodied, armed, and with abundant supplies of money, provisions, and ammunition, sent to join the gallant insurgents in La Vendée. The French, for the security of our eastern trade, ought to have been early dispossessed of their settlements in Mauritius and Madagascar.

But, the Allies seem to have hastily fancied, after the battle of Nerwinde, that their compleat success, in the campaign, was inevitably certain. From that time, it should seem, they were more concerned to snatch, each from its rivals, the largest portion of the prey in view, than to give its cordial and vigorous aid, in running that prey down. The Continental powers, as usual, were much more earnest to enrich themselves, with British subsidies, than to prosecute the war, with energy. From the many oversights committed by the ministers and generals of all the Allies, one might be apt to conclude, that, like Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, they had said to one another ; “ *Let us divert ourselves, my friends ; the world governs itself !* ”

It is painful, and perhaps, at present improper, to consider the errors in policy, which have been negligently or ignorantly committed by the ministers of the Allies, especially in their earlier opposition to the Republicans of France. But, was it impossible, to anticipate the French, at the *Ottoman Porte* ; to impress the Ottoman ministers with ideas of the evils of French Republicanism, so just and strong, that they might have refused to receive an ambassador in the name of the Republic ; and at the same time, to have cemented such a friendship between the Turks and the Russians ; that no dread of a war



on the side of Turkey, might have intervened to prevent the Empress of *Russia* from co-operating with the Combined Powers against Republicanism. The *Polish* Constitution of 1789 ought either to have been guaranteed by Britain, and by all the other powers combined against France; or else the *Poles* ought to have been so vigilantly watched, by the joint inspection of all those Powers, as to have been cut off from all intercourse with the French, and from all possibility of being excited to new enterprises for the vindication of their liberty, by any French intrigues. The diversion made in Poland by French money, and French principles, has been one grand cause of the misfortunes suffered by the Allies in the course of the present campaign. Above all, not only the first emigrants, of the highest monarchical principles, ought to have been listened to; but, all who could be encouraged to declare themselves hostile to the Patriots and the Republic; ought to have been received with such seeming confidence, although, at the same time, with the utmost *secret* watchfulness, as might have induced all the Anti-Patriots, at once to declare for the Allies. After the Republic should have fallen; it would have been easy to re-establish monarchy in France, in whatever form the Allies might judge to be safest for the liberties of Europe.—But of this enough.

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In prosperity we err, through presumption and negligence; in misfortune, we are wise. If the Netherlands have been lost or abandoned to the French, in the course of the present campaign; one great cause of this, was, because the Austrians would not pillage and enslave the Flemings, as the French have since done. The Allies have retreated step after step, and have given up, one castle, and one fortified town, after another. But, they have so managed their retreat and defence, as to make the progress of the French, as slow, as difficult, and as expensive as possible. In war among the nations of modern Europe, in its present state, the contest is not to gain new possessions from this or that nation or party; but is merely a trial, *who shall first reduce his antagonist to a condition so exhausted, that he shall no longer be able to raise soldiers, or to find means to keep them in the field?* Upon this point, must the final decision turn, of the present contest between the French Republicans, and the Combined Powers. Now, in the course of the present campaign, the French have been obliged to spread their forces over a wider outline of offence and defence, than before; they have consumed a much greater quantity of provisions, arms, clothes, and amunition, than in any of the two former campaigns; they have lost, prodigally lost, an infinitely greater number of lives, than in  
any

any former campaign,—upon a moderate calculation, at least three times as many, as have been lost by the Allies, in the same space of time; they have been forced to employ an oppression in providing resources for the campaign, which has contributed more than any of their former measures, to disgust the people with their government, and to render the Republic universally odious among its own members; they have been brought still nearer to that exhausted state in which, the continuance of the war can be no longer possible upon their side; they have been led into enterprizes, such as that against Holland, peculiarly wasteful, and in the case of their failure, inevitably ruinous. Upon all these considerations, which are not false and pretended, but solid and well-founded; I hesitate not to affirm, that the nerves, the muscular strength, the vital energy of the power of the French Republic, have, amidst all their boasted and apparent successes, been much more fatally wasted in the course of the present campaign, than in either of the two last. What have their impressions upon Spain accomplished, save to shew, that the Spaniards are capable of being roused to the exertion of all that vigour and enthusiastic valour, with which they anciently contended against Mahometism, till it was effaced from before them? In Italy, their intrigues, and the efforts of  
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of their arms, have been, in truth, alike unsuccessful. The Belgians content neither under the French, nor under the Austrian yoke, nor yet capable of the temperate enjoyment of independent freedom, suffer the just punishment of their levity ; but what have the French gained by becoming the last instruments of *their* punishment? — Nor is one consideration, perhaps, more important than all those, to be over-looked ; that the Allied Powers, especially the *Dutch*, and the subjects of the *British* Empire, either raise by cultivation from the earth, or work up by manufacture, almost all articles of provisions, clothing, arms, and amunition, which have been consumed, not less by the French, than by themselves, in the course of the war ; for the manufactures of the Allied Nations, and the productions of their countries, have still been conveyed to the French, by the carrying traffic of the neutral powers. Thus, while the French are exhausting themselves, without doing any thing to replace what is consumed from among them by Revolution and war, the waste of the Allies, is supplied by *the very expenditure of the French!*

At sea, the Allies, or rather the British Nation alone, have been more fortunate. The destruction of the shipping in the harbour of *Toulon*, gave a fatal blow to the Navy of France. The signal naval victory obtained by the British fleet under

under *Lord Howe*, happily followed, and gave full efficacy to the effects of, the former stroke. In the *West-Indies*, our naval and military successes have gained new possessions to the British Crown, which add considerably to the capital of the Nation, and are likely to prove highly advantageous to its trade, and useful to its industry. On the *American* coasts, our fleets have suffered few French merchant-vessels to escape; which were not protected by the the colours of Neutral Nations. In the *East*, our loss in merchant-ships, has been inconsiderable, in comparison with the extent of our trade in that quarter. In the *Mediterranean*, the fleets of the Allies have ridden in proud triumph, through the course of the war. Here, the fleets of the French have been blocked up in the harbours. There, their ships of war, have been gallantly shattered or captured, by an inferior force. Their coasts have been occasionally plundered and insulted. Nor let our conquests of *Corfica* be slighted! To an insular empire, such as *Britain*, which is not only protected by the surrounding seas, but actually depends upon them for an annual produce, almost as great as that which it derives from the cultivation of its lands; to such an empire, every new acquisition is assuredly advantageous; which tends to increase its naval industry, and to lay its government and subjects under

under a new necessity of augmenting their naval strength, and of cultivating more extensively, the richest source of their opulence. It is not enlarged empire, merely as such, that we want; but, enlarged empire, in consequence of acquiring which, we shall be unavoidably led, to fortify more effectually the security of our native isle, and to cultivate with more ardent industry, the resources to be found in its circumambient waves. *Our own coasts* have, in the mean time, been securely guarded from insult. In the *Northern seas*, and upon the extreme limits of the German ocean, it must indeed be confessed, that the fishing fleets of the Dutch, as well as of the English, have been too negligently protected.— Why, then, so many captures by the frigates and privateers of the French? So few made by those of the Allies? Of this, the first grand reason is, that the French trade is absolutely annihilated; they have no merchant-ships of value, to be captured: From this, it results, as a necessary consequence, that their ships of war are not otherwise employed, than in protecting their coasts, and in cruising for prizes,—not at all in convoying mercantile fleets,—so that, with fewer armed ships, they may take more prizes than we: They employ neutral bottoms in a much greater number, than we, by which their imports are saved from capture: Our fleets of merchant-ships do  
not

not always attach themselves so carefully to the convoy of ships of war, sent to guard them, — as common prudence, and the known regulations for fleets sailing under convoy, appear to require: The prizes taken by the French, are, for the most part, straggling, solitary vessels: Our British merchants ought, for that part of their trade which must be carried on, in scattered ships, to employ neutral bottoms, and avail themselves of neutral colours, as the French do: After all, the number of the prizes made by the French, appears large, only because our Trade is vast; compared with the immensity of our Commerce, the value which our merchants have lost during the war, by captures at sea, will be found to be in truth, less — than that which the French have lost, if considered in its proportion to their commercial capital: And it cannot be denied, that some few oversights have been committed by the Commissioners of our Admiralty.

The sum of these reflections upon the events of the campaign, is, That a multitude of unhappy errors were committed in the campaign of 1793: But that the defensive war in which the Allies have been engaged in the campaign of 1794, has, partly by the necessary consequences of offence on the one side, and defence, on the other, partly by the lavish prodigality of the Republican rulers of France, and in part, by the

increasing prudence of the ministers and generals of the Allies, contributed much more, than the events of the two former campaigns taken together, to exhaust the resources, and ruin the affairs of the Republicans : That, our naval successes have been signal, and promise to be truly useful ; the losses of our merchants, less considerable, in truth, than they have been supposed,--owing to causes not implying weakness or misconduct in our naval force,--and such as may be evaded, in future, by the more careful management of our merchants themselves.--What is there in all this, to make us despair of final success in the prosecution of the war ? Not very many days since, *Bourdon de L'Oise* objected in the French Convention, that the Allies endeavoured to *disgust* the French People with their very victories ; an observation evidently implying, that the *disgust* actually existed. But what sort of victories are those with which it is possible for a gallant, vain, and enthusiastic People to be *disgusted* ? When were the British Nation ever *disgusted* with a victory ?



## VIII.

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### *GENERAL VIEW of the STATE of the DOMINIONS of our CONTINENTAL ALLIES.*

“How miserable the present state of the Provinces of HOLLAND!”

The *Dutch* have undoubtedly suffered by the war. There has been a considerable emigration of malcontents, out of Holland, to France. The Dutch Trade has been greatly injured by the progress of the war, between their losses of ships, and of lucrative branches of commerce. Vast taxes have been levied upon poor people, who, even before, could hardly breathe or make water, without paying a tax for it. Their country has been oppressed by the foreign soldiers, and the military preparations which have been necessary for its defence. Dissensions have been

been unhappily fomented between the *Democratical* and the high *Aristocratical* parties in the Dutch Provinces.

All these things are so. But, their seamen, artificers, or peasantry, have not yet been placed under *direct requisition*. They still carry on an extensive and lucrative traffic; and through the medium of the Neutral Nations, supply even the French with many of those articles of provisions, arms, or ammunition, which they consume in the prosecution of the war. In their cities there is still labour for the industrious, and bread to the poor. The cultivation, the produce, the annual stock of their fields, are still secure.

Not a little of their merchants' capitals has been transferred to the British Public Funds. But, mercantile policy, perhaps more than fear, has occasioned this. It is foreseen, that, when a general peace shall be restored, the property now placed in the Public Funds, may be again sold, with vast advantage; and the British Funds are justly regarded, as secure above all others. No blood has yet flowed upon the scaffolds. No victims have been torn in pieces by popular insurrection. The People have been roused from indolent security; some part of their labour and expence has been demanded, in order to save their lives and fortunes from falling the prey

prey of robbers and assassins from abroad; and of needy villains among themselves: they have gained in active energy, and in power of exertion, much more than all that they have lost by the war, in temporary luxury, or in traffic. Unfortunately, the peculiar form of their republican government, is such as often to perplex the transaction of their national affairs, and to give faction almost sufficient influence, to ruin their country. Since their first division from the Spanish Netherlands, French intrigues have continually laboured to excite the subordinate part of their Constituted Government, against that to which the superior place is assigned. But, if they would not dishonour the blood of their fellow-soldiers of William the First; of their conquerors of the Duke of Alva; of the heroes before whom, the boasted triumphs of Louis the Fourteenth, became ridiculous; they will unite with that unanimity, with which their freedom was at first earned; will inundate their lands with every *Duyt* of their capital, and perish with one accord on their last dyke; rather than suffer themselves to be lulled by their enemies, into a deceitful tranquillity; rather than be robbed and stripped naked by the hungry, starving French; rather than suffer themselves to be driven by the arts of these invaders, into the distraction of civil discord, amidst which they must fall by one another's

another's hands. To the Dutch, there is nothing wanting that is necessary to enable them to prosecute the war, till it shall be crowned with success, and fixed in solid security; if not unanimity and good-will. And in such a cause, so important and so hopeful, how can unanimity and good-will be wanting to them; if they be not miserably divided among themselves, strangely misinformed with regard to the internal state of France, and astonishingly diffident in those resources with which the French suppose that they could subdue Europe, if they possessed them?

Nor has GERMANY suffered like France. Neither in the *Austrian*, nor in the *Prussian* dominions, have the total absence of legal order, requisitions, or revolutionary tribunals, desolated the country. The scene of the military operations, has, for the most part, been considerably remote. The ordinary transactions of peaceful life have never been wholly interrupted. Many thousands of soldiers have indeed been levied. But, manufactures, agriculture, and trade still continue to be carried on. The vigilance of *those governments* has not proceeded to revolutionary jealousies and cruelty. The palaces, the cottages, the churches still stand; unless where on the frontiers, they have been exposed to the destroying fury of the French.—The rest of Germany has, for the greater part, suffered yet less by the war, than the  
immediate

immediate dominions of the Emperor, and those of the Prussian King. Much of the money of France and Britain, has, at the same time, found its way into Germany: And it may be very fairly estimated, that, if Germany have not acquired any considerable accessions of population or of capital stock, in the course of the present war; it has at least continued to reproduce quantities of both, nearly equal to all that has been consumed out of it, by the war. If it be possible, that by any narrowness of policy in the German Governments; or by any petulance and error of opinion in the People; there can be at present, in the Courts and through the Provinces of Germany, a disposition to offer peace to the French Republicans, and to terminate the war, without accomplishing the purposes for which it was, at first, undertaken: This disposition cannot be excused on account of *comparative* weakness or necessity; but, is to be attributed to a policy, the most dishonest and ill informed, in the Courts, and to an unhappy spirit in the People, hostile to their own welfare. To escape from present ills, it should seem that the People must, in this case, be willing to flee to others that they know not of.—The Prussian and Austrian Courts may have looked on one another with a jealousy concerning the British subsidies, which may have disposed them to thwart each other's operations, in

in the course of the campaigns in which they have acted together ; and at last disgracefully to desert the cause of Order and Humanity, because our ministers will not deal the blood and bones of Britain between.—Yet, it is possible, that the errors of their People may at the same time influence their views and negotiations, against the war. It is possible, too, that they may not withdraw from the war, till the French shall again set a monarch at their head, to make peace for them.—However these things may be ; it is likely that the affairs of *Poland* may be speedily settled, so as not to interfere through another campaign, with the restoration of order in France.

In the south, on the side of SPAIN, it does not appear, that the efforts of the French, are to be longer feared. The impetuosity of their first effort, and the terrour of their first impression have equally wasted themselves. The Spaniards are still true to their religion and their king. They needed such an impulse as that which the French have given, to awaken their ancient energy. Their country is little wasted by the war. It cannot be reckoned to have at all diminished the population of the kingdom. Their industry is rather likely to be enlivened and improved by it ; as it may awaken them out of that torpid lethargy, in which the excellencies

lencies of the Spanish character have been too long sunk.

To the Court of TURIN, the transient over-running of their dominions by the French is no new or strange event. The same thing has happened to Savoy, at different times before. On the side of *Italy*, the subsidies and the naval aid of Britain, in addition to the exertions of the Italian Powers themselves; have appeared to be fully adequate to resist the impression of the French armies; without other than temporary inconveniencies to the inhabitants of the Italian frontiers; without any waste of human lives or of capital stock, that is not repaired, as it is consumed; without admitting any portion of those dreadful evils which the French are content to inflict upon one another, while they strive to spread them wide among surrounding nations.

What inference, then, can we draw from this rapid survey of the internal condition of our Continental Allies? What, but that, if they be dispirited, it is without just cause; that, in *comparison* with the French they have *suffered nothing* from the war; that if their governments have found difficulties in raising means for the prosecution of the war,—it is because they possess only the *resources* of *mild government*, not those of *tyranny*; if the People cry for Peace, it is not from suffering, or exhausted strength, but out of

childish despondency, and capricious opinion. In France, we behold serpents, wolves, and owls, amidst the mouldering ruins of a desolated city. In the countries of our Continental Allies, we see, — fluggards who would, — (at least if they can be suspected of a wish to end the war, without accomplishing its first purposes,) — eat and drink without toil; timorous strength ready to tremble before the first weak braggard that threatens it; men who wish to enjoy political importance and the blessings of good government, without paying the necessary price!

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IX.



## IX.

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*Present Internal State of the British Empire.*

I. **N**EITHER the POPULATION nor the WEALTH of BRITAIN, has yet been exhausted by the war.

By careful calculation, it is, with tolerable precision, ascertained, that the annual *increment* of the POPULATION of the British Empire, for these last *ten* or *twelve* years, has exceeded the annual *consumption* of the same population, by a sum, at least equal to the *two-thousandth* part of the whole. But, the number of British soldiers, annually slain in the course of the present war, does not exceed the number that, even during peace, would, each year, have perished by disease or other accidents,—by a sum nearly so considerable, as the *two-thousandth* part of the population  
of

of the empire. Parents mourn their children, fallen in battle ; wives, their husbands ; children, their fathers ; Britain, some of her worthiest, most skilful and most intrepid soldiers and sailors. Our officers have, some of them, been torn from peace and luxury in the bosom of their families ; others, called from hungry inactivity, to earn their bread, at the continual jeopardy of their lives. Our sailors have been reluctantly dragged from the service of trade, to the more perilous service of war. Not only from the pernicious vices of idle and profligate poverty, but, from the loom, the anvil, the plough, the fold, have the most healthy, vigorous, and high-spirited of our labourers, been led, to waste their exertions, and expose their lives, as common soldiers, for the destruction of other individuals of their species, from whom they had not before received private offence.—But, amidst all these considerations, it must be acknowledged, that *the general population of the British Empire, has not yet been sensibly diminished by the present war.*

As little has *our real national*, CAPITAL-STOCK been diminished by the war. Not a foot of our *territories*, is yet lost.—Many bankruptcies, for large sums, took place immediately after our entrance upon the war : Similar bankruptcies among the correspondents of our merchants, on  
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the Continent, deprived us of considerable returns which were due for property which we had sent abroad in the course of trade : Various branches of our national industry have been considerably interrupted : No little part of the capital of our manufacturers and merchants has been unavoidably withdrawn from the direct employment of labour, by which it might generate new capital ; and has been thrown into a state, in which it is in truth unproductive to the community, however productive it may be, for the time, to the several individuals to whom it immediately belongs : Even the ingenuity and activity of manufacturing industry, and the bold, yet prudent spirit of commercial enterprize, have received a general check, throughout Britain.

But, if the ordinary reproduction of our *population*, be greater than its ordinary consumption : The same fact is universally known to have long taken place, much more eminently, with respect to our NATIONAL CAPITAL. It is a very low estimate, to suppose, that, all circumstances considered, one half of the whole inhabitants of the empire, may be reckoned as being constantly employed in productive industry. Then, if we shall add to their exertions, the effect of the spontaneous bounty of nature ; the multiplication of their powers and productions by the aid of skilful processes, suitable instruments, and ingenious

ingenious mechanical contrivances; the similar enlargement of their powers, by the ingenuity and enterprize of commerce, gaining more than an adequate return, from her transactions with foreign nations: We may fairly allow, at an average, that, each individual of that half of the nation, which we suppose industrious, may produce every year, in return for what he annually consumes out of the national capital, a quantity of value equal to three times the sum of his own consumption. Count, then, the millions that compose the total population of the British Empire: Consider, that the industrious half of the nation, beside supporting themselves and the idle half, by their labours; add, every year, over and above, to the accumulated national stock, a quantity of value, equal to their own consumption for a year: Take even the concession, if you will, that a considerable sum more than the one-third of the annual produce of the national labour, may be, yearly, consumed by the idle part of the Community: There will still remain, a good many millions of pounds Sterling, of net annual addition made to the accumulated national stock.

Again, the Bankruptcies which took place in Great Britain, about the time of the beginning of the present war, were only a *disappointment* of  
too

too sanguine *hopes*, and a *detection* of fallacies,—not a direct and absolute *destruction* of national capital. The real national capital assuredly remained, with some increment, nearly the same on the month immediately following those failures, as it had been on the month immediately preceding them. The *fancied*, *apparent* capital, alone, was diminished. It is not to be denied, that, immediately after those Bankruptcies, some part of the moneyed capital of the nation, and by consequence, some part of its powers of industry, were withdrawn from the direct production of new capital. But, will any person venture to assert, that the subtraction of perhaps a million or two, by Bankruptcy, from the *apparent*, *not* from *the real* capital of the nation,—or the withdrawing of a few millions from trade, which are diverted into the public funds?—will any person presume to assert, that these events can have produced a diminution of the annual returns from the national industry, equivalent to the whole value requisite to the annual support of one half of the inhabitants of the whole empire?—So far is this from being the case, that our annual produce still, unquestionably, affords a large overplus, above our ordinary annual consumption,—to augment, the accumulated national capital, or at least, to answer the extraordinary public expence.

Farther ; amidst all the evils of war, let us remember, that the necessaries of life are used ; a demand

demand still continues for the useful productions of the arts. Are not woollen cloths still worn over Europe? Is there not still a demand for cotton-stuffs, for linens, for hardware, for pottery, for paper, for leather, for hats, for hose, for gloves? Are not roots, grain, beef, and fish still consumed? Does war create no demand for arms, ammunition, knapsacks, and camp-furniture? Such things must be had, in war, as well, as in peace, while there is money, or exchangeable value of any sort, in the hands of those by whom they are wanted,—to purchase them with. Now, such is the state of commercial intercourse in Europe; that the same people who furnished such necessities to their neighbours during peace, will almost always, through one channel or another, continue to supply them also, during any European war. In the present war, this takes place, most eminently, in favour of the Allies; because, in France, industry and the arts of life appear absolutely to have made a full and awful pause. Britain before this war, supplied woollen and cotton-stuffs, hardware, swords, musquets, and almost all the apparatus of war, to all the world; beside re-exporting a part of our imports from the East and the West Indies. The Neutral Nations must now intervene in the traffic between us and our enemies. But, our enemies are undoubtedly still supplied with British productions

productions and manufactures. Although we shed their blood; we still continue unavoidably to pocket their money, in the way of trade. By the war, one branch of trade may have been partly destroyed, and another created: one channel of traffic may have been deserted, and another opened. The fine arts and the superficial arts of luxury may have been checked. But, it may be questioned whether that industry which is employed upon the necessary arts, have been, in any sensible degree, impaired or discouraged. Is not the consumption of war, rather such as to increase the demand for it? In the famine, in which the Conjuror in the fable, found, that none of all his *twenty tricks* could win him bread; the Taylor still earned subsistence for himself, by his *single art*. It might be assuredly demonstrated,—that, even now, *the industry exerted in the reproduction of capital throughout the British Empire, has, for each of these two years of war; been at least fully adequate to supply, beside the ordinary annual consumption of the nation, all the extraordinary consumption of capital demanded by the war; without any necessity for the dilapidation of that national capital which was accumulated before the war's commencement.*

Two grand and consoling facts, therefore, appear to be, in a reasonable measure, certain:

That the general population of the British Empire, has not, as yet, suffered any sensible diminution by the war :

That, the general accumulated capital of the produce of labour, which the British Nation possessed, at the commencement of the war, has not yet been impaired by it.

2. OUR PUBLIC REVENUE and NATIONAL CREDIT have not yet been reduced to a condition in which they are inadequate to the exigencies of the war, or the ordinary expences of Government,

The *Land, Trade, and Industry*, and the *Consumption* of luxury or simple subsistence, are the several subjects from which the taxes composing the national revenue, are directly drawn. Taxes skilfully raised from these several subjects, and again disbursed in the necessary expenditure of Government; if they exceed not a certain reasonable proportion ; have rather a tendency to promote national industry and wealth, than to harass or impoverish the Subjects. The difficulty is, to raise taxes skilfully, and then to lay them out judiciously. If no errors were committed in the manner of the levying of taxes on a nation, or in the mode of again expending them ; no sum of taxes that did not exceed the amount of the whole national produce, could be so great, as, by being levied, to hurt the national prosperity.



rity. Nor does it appear, that, however enormous the taxes paid by the British Nation, for the expences of their government; the amount has ever yet been eminently ruinous to the National prosperity; for, the Nation collectively have still continued to thrive under all the weight of their taxes. The very latest taxes for which the revenue officers have given in their accompts, have proved so productive, and have, at the same time, so little injured the general prosperity; that it must, even now, appear that our present *revenue-system* is *perhaps* eminently beneficial; but *undoubtedly* the least hurtful to the national welfare, of all systems for the raising or expenditure of public revenue that have been ever solidly established by the nations of the world, known to history.

For a century past, it has been our policy, when very great *extraordinary* demands upon the public revenue, arise; to provide for answering these;—not by an instant increase of the taxes, equivalent to the amount of the *extra* sum wanted; but by borrowing *this* sum upon the mortgage of taxes, new or old, adequate to the payment of the annual interest due upon the capital sum borrowed. Upon this *financial policy*, our public burthens are prevented from being suddenly augmented at any time, to an intolerable weight. New weight is indeed still added  
to

to the load ; but so slowly, that our shoulders seem to be still strengthened to bear the additional\*incumbrance, before it is felt upon them. Meanwhile, the endless augmentation of this public debt, excites from time to time, the most alarming fears. We tremble, with frequent panics, lest the nation should suddenly become bankrupt, like a spendthrift landholder, or an unfortunate merchant. And even now, an alarm has gone forth, that the present may be the destined æra of National Bankruptcy ; and that the expences of the war in which we are now engaged, must reduce our government perhaps to declare itself insolvent !

The alarm is groundless. The system of FUNDING, has its advantages in Government, as well as its disadvantages. In comparison with the former, the latter are trivial.

*The disadvantages* which attend the raising of a public revenue, upon some extraordinary emergencies, by the creation of FUNDS, are,

That, It may render rulers prodigal of the treasure and blood of the Nation ; by enabling them to raise and to lavish the former, with less danger of jealousy or resistance by the people ;—than if it were to be raised by direct and immediate taxes, alone :

That, by giving rulers so ready a command of the national wealth, it at the same time, gives them

them means of assuming from time to time, a more arbitrary and despotic authority :

That, it conveys to moneyed men,—even to Foreigners,—too great an influence upon the public transactions of the nation :

That, it establishes a species of unproductive trade, affording a profit to the private persons who are the National Creditors, without making a real addition to the capital stock of the nation :

That it fatally checks the national prosperity ; still drinking the life-blood of the state, as it is generated :

That it tends to reduce the grand business of administration to mere stock-jobbing and keeping of accounts :

That it depresses the Public Spirit of the Nation ; as the mind of a private man is depressed by the consciousness of being in debt ;

That it tends directly to Bankruptcy ; just as in the case of a private man.

*On the other hand*, the *Advantages* which have actually and undeniably resulted to the British Nation, from the use of this method of raising revenue for extraordinary emergencies, are,

That, preventing any sudden and excessive augmentation of the burthen of the taxes, at any one time ;—it thus in a great measure prevents those discontents which the other system would necessarily

necessarily excite; and gives a stability to our Constitution and Government, more permanent, than, even their singular excellence might otherwise be sufficient to confer upon them:

That not convulsing any large mass of the National Capital, at any one time, out of its ordinary channels; as must necessarily happen, if extraordinary exigencies were to be provided for, by suddenly increased taxation, alone; it leaves that capital to augment by a much higher ratio of progression, than could otherwise take place: (Subtract 3 from 6: the remainder multiplied by 2, gives only a product of 6. But, multiply, first 6 by 2; 3 subtracted from the product, will leave 9 for a remainder. Take *ten millions extra* in the way of taxation, out of the national capital of this year,—calling that, merely for illustration's sake,—a *thousand millions*; the remaining 990 millions, at whatever rate they may be annually augmented, will yield a total sum very considerably less, at the distance of twenty years hence; than if the 1000 millions unbroken, had been left to increase for the same twenty years, at the same rate,—the interest of the ten millions being still paid out of the annual increment,—and at the end of these twenty years, the principal *ten millions* deducted from the augmented amount of the capital 1000 millions. Had the sum of the National Debt, contracted during

during the reigns of King William and of Queen Anne, been, at that time, suddenly ravished by direct taxation from Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; the capital possessed by these, would now necessarily, have been much less, than the remainder would be; if the whole principal of the National Debt contracted during those reigns, should now be deducted from what the capitals possessed at that time, by Agriculture, manufactures, and Commerce, have been, since, multiplied to.):

That, instead of enlarging the power, it, in fact, increases the dependence of the Sovereign; Since in the raising of revenue by direct taxation, the supreme legislative and executive powers, have only to resolve, and then levy by force; but here the *free-will* of Lenders is farther to be consulted; Since public loans are always more or less readily obtained, in proportion, as General Opinion more or less respects the wisdom, moderation, justice, and stability of the government; Since, only where arbitrary exertions of power are unknown, can there be at all times, such an abundance of moveable property, as to supply readily in the way of loan, the extraordinary exigencies of a state; Since under mild governments, alone, are taxes so regularly and permanently productive, as to become fit subjects of mortgage; Since it appears from all history, that  
despotic

despotic governments have never been able to obtain suitable and continual supplies for their extraordinary wants, *in voluntary loans* :

That, it greatly allays the rapacity of rulers, —the tendency of which is, in other situations, extremely strong; towards the robbing or swindling of their subjects ;—by presenting them with less odious means of providing for their necessities :

That, however, instead of favouring war, rapine, and conquest ; *it* has in truth, arisen from the improvement of civilization, and of political œconomy ; *it* tends to humanize and mitigate the spirit of war, in so far as it provides for the wants of Armies, without leaving them under the necessity of living by rapine, of appropriating every conquered country, and dragging its inhabitants into domestic slavery ; *it* tends to give that part of the Community who are by their habits and interests, peaceable and lovers of peace, an higher influence than that of the military order, upon the National Affairs ; *it* can take place, only where there is an entire absence of any thing like the irregular exertion of military force in internal government ; *it* has, in truth, by its whole effects, the most direct tendency of all things, to mollify and transform into peacefulness, the temperate, martial spirit of a nation ; *it* has undeniably had its influence, among other things,

things, in rendering the spirit of the British Nation, still less and less impetuously bent on war and bloodshed, through the progress of the present century, than in all former times :

That, it has a tendency to render the levying of the taxes, much less arbitrary, oppressive, and complex, than it would necessarily be, if direct and immediate taxation, were, upon all occasions, the sole resource for Public Revenue :

That, the matter of this earth is not diminished by the continual loco-motion and transformation of its parts ;--The property of all the inhabitants of the globe is not impaired, merely by being constantly transferred backwards and forwards from hand to hand ;--A community cannot become richer or poorer, solely in consequence of one of its members acquiring an estate which another loses ; While the British Government obtains all its loans from its own subjects, and expends them so, that they pass, either mediately or immediately back into its own subject's hands ; *nothing* is lost to the nation by the contraction of the debt ; and all the change effected, is, in the government becoming charged still with a larger and more laborious share in the continual transference of the national property from hand to hand ; nor can any public bankruptcy, to impoverish the nation, ever arise immediately from this œconomy ; although

though the transference may at length reduce government to too precarious a dependency on the caprice of commercial opinion :

That, by the pre-eminence of its public credit chiefly, has Britain attained to be the umpire of the world.

In the whole, then, the *System of Funding* appears to be *favourable* to domestic and exterior tranquility,—to peaceful and industrious habits,—to gentleness and moderation amidst even the horrors of war,—to the increase of the national capital,—to moderation and equity of government,—to the exaltation of the industrious and trading part of the community. It can never make a whole people poor ; as foreigners can never have an interest to become their principal public creditors. It may embarrass a government, by reducing them to perhaps too great a dependency upon capricious commercial opinion. It may tend to augment, in some inconceivably small proportion, the idlers in the nation, or the luxury of the capital city. It has been suggested by the advancement of knowledge in political œconomy. It may sometimes encourage a small waste. But, it makes government dependent on commercial credit ; commercial credit depends on the state of industry and trade ; trade and industry depend on the liberty and virtue of a nation, and on the equity of its government.



*Direct Taxation* kills the goose with the golden eggs; the *system of FUNDING* borrows and expects, till the eggs shall be laid. Throw the disadvantages of the system of *Funding* into one scale of a balance; its advantages into the other; how soon the former kicks the beam!

Let us apply this doctrine concerning taxes, national debt, and public credit, to the public revenue and credit of Great Britain, as they are affected by the present war.

The system of our taxation has not as yet been rendered by this war, so *complex, unproductive, or oppressive*, as to threaten the ruin of industry;—or to indicate an impossibility of augmenting the taxes, or new arranging them, so as to make them more productive; without injuring the prosperity or freedom of this country.

Our national debts are not at all likely—to be augmented by the expences of the war, to an amount which may endanger the overthrow of our public credit,—impede the motions of the machine of government,—or divert too much capital, and too many hands, from the operations of productive industry: Since public credit depends chiefly on the equity, wisdom, and stability of general government: Since property does not *stagnate* in the public funds, but still circulates onwards through the channels of traffic; And since all those fears are vain that fancy

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cy; that a Bankruptcy of the State can possibly take place, which might, without other concomitant causes, such as revolution or the decay of industry, produce a diminution of the national capital.

3. Has the progress of the present war enfeebled the energy, encouraged the despotism, or destroyed the wisdom of our NATIONAL GOVERNMENT?

It has not. Our whole legally Constituted Government, consists of these three parts: 1. *Affizes or Juries*; 2. the three Estates of *Parliament*, assembled, and co-operating; 3. the KING, with his Armies and Navies for exterior defence,—his judges, peace-officers, and revenue-officers for the internal execution of the laws,—his Counsellors, Secretaries, and Household servants, to aid him in the immediate transaction of public affairs, and to perform to him, those menial offices which his dignity requires.

As to JURIES; we have the most satisfactory proofs, that they have not been either packed, blinded, or corrupted; so as to be no longer firm and honest, judicial arbiters, between right and wrong, between fact and falsehood. No murmurs have arisen against the verdicts of Juries, in ordinary and private cases of the distribution of civil or criminal justice. Within these two or three years, an agitation of Public  
Opinion,

Opinion, has produced several appeals to the decision of Juries, from Government, against *persons* who were presumed to be guilty of *Sedition* or of *Treason*. Of these, some have, by their Juries, been pronounced *Guilty*; others, *Not Guilty*, of the crimes of which they were accused. The Trials have continually passed in open Courts. The Proceedings have been published, and very generally read. And what says the voice of National Opinion concerning the equity of all those sentences of Juries? Does it not loudly declare, that they have been uniformly founded upon a clear discrimination of evidence, and dictated by the most upright and manly impartiality? What honest and intelligent man is there among us, who, upon reading the proceedings in all those trials, does not feel his mind impressed with the same conviction, under which the Juries appear to have pronounced their verdicts? That *Juries* are ready to do justice to our Government,—is a proof, that this Government is not felt through the Nation, to be unjust or tyrannical. That *Juries* are equally ready to protect their fellow-subjects against the mistaken accusations of Government,—is an illustrious proof, that they continue unpacked, unbribed, unbiassed by hopes, fears, or partialities. In what former æra of the British Constitution, did British Juries

ries ever distinguish themselves by discernment, liberality, candour, impartiality, equal to what we have ourselves seen them display?

Is not all the National wisdom, upon those subjects which fall under Parliamentary discussion, still concentrated in the deliberations and decrees of the ESTATES IN PARLIAMENT? *Select any one act from among the acts of Parliament passed in these three or four last Sessions; it will almost infallibly be found to express the judgment of a majority of the cool, unbiassed, and sufficiently informed men in the Nation, concerning the particular point to which it relates.* The proceedings of Parliament pass, by a sort of tacit concession, in open Court. They are regularly published, and eagerly read. And who will deny, that they exhibit, for the most part, a full, a fair, a pointed comparison of almost every topic that can be imagined or suggested on either side of the question. The open publication of the proceedings of the British Parliament, and the free course still allowed to National opinion; give to the general sense of the Nation, an influence, in all cases, upon those proceedings; which was never so fully, so constantly, so steadily exercised by the subjects of any other government in the world, upon the conduct of their governors. As the nation, at large, exert so powerful an indirect influence upon the conduct of the Estates in Parliament; so the  
Representatives

Representatives of the People possess the chief weight among these Estates. The House of Peers constitute, at present, little else than a Supreme Court of Judicature in private causes, a sort of Court of Review to inspect the principal acts of the Commons, and a body exerting upon the Commons something of very feeble, direct controul. The King owes his influence among the Estates in Parliament, to the wisdom of his counsels, to the moderation with which he exercises the royal power, to the fidelity with which he guards, to the delicacy and reverence with which he respects, the established laws and fundamental principles of the Constitution. There may be errors; there may be occasionally ill intentions; there may be interferences of private interests and private views: For when, ah! when were human institutions, or human wisdom, or human virtue perfect? But, survey the history of all former ages, view all the present governments of the world, with a discerning and unclouded eye; and say, whether there was ever a Nation, in the same circumstances as to population, wealth, industry, knowledge, and refinement, in whose Legislature, the collision of private against public interests was so small and so little injurious? No Briton can be so stupidly ignorant, or so obstinately wicked, as calmly to assert, upon full enquiry and deliberation, that there ever was!—

Now

Now it does not appear, that, since the commencement of the present war, the fair influence of National opinion upon the deliberations of Parliament, has been diminished ; that the relative proportions of the respective powers of the Three Estates, have been altered or deranged ; or that views of private interest have been brought into more direct opposition than before, to the public interests, or have acquired new force to thwart and counteract these, in the deliberations and decrees of the three Estates in Parliament. The Majorities in the two Houses still determine upon fair grounds. They are still keenly and ably watched by Minorities. They are still obliged to combat fairly all the reasonings and allegations which the minority chuse to produce. The acts of Parliament, are still agreeable to the known sense of the greater number of well-informed, unprejudiced, and cool-headed men in the nation, upon almost all the subjects to which they relate.

At, and since the commencement of the war, our *armies* have been augmented : more powerful *fleets* have been built, equipped, manned, and fitted out for naval combat. But, our armies have been recruited by free contract, on the part of the recruits : Our navies, manned in that mode which is tacitly authorized by our laws, as the gentlest and most equitable in which it is possible to raise sailors for the sudden exigencies  
of

of war by sea. Officers and Commanders for both navy and army, have been appointed, for the most part, upon that mode of choice and that *routine* of preferment, which have been long considered, as the most likely to encourage the formation of good officers,—to do justice to military merit,—and to provide acting commanders worthy of the Royal and National confidence. Never were our fleets stronger, or their successes more splendid. Never was the valour of British soldiers, more gallantly signalized, than in the course of the disastrous present campaign. King Henry in the ballad of *Chevy-Chace*, while he laments the death of Earl Percy, consoles himself with the thought, that he has, *within his realm, five hundred as good as he*. If some of our bravest officers and soldiers have fallen in battle; yet, the flower of our forces is not blasted; the strength of our Armies is not broken. Our newly raised soldiers have ever braved danger, with higher gallantry and firmer valour, than those of either our Allies or our enemies. Our sailors are the most prodigal of life, the hardiest, the most intrepid race on earth. A well disciplined *legal* or *volunteer* militia gives us, internally, the best protection we can desire for the order of law, and for the security of our coasts. At this time of war and warlike preparation, no soldier is suffered to abuse, in the smallest degree, his arms,  
and

and martial dexterity, to the alarm or offence of his unarmed fellow-subjects. The *Public Revenue* has been as inoppressively and inoffensively collected since the commencement of the war, as at any former period: The revenue-officers have acquired no new arrogance or authority. When were the laws interpreted by *Judges* more enlightened, or more upright? Our *peace-officers* protect order, without any general abuse of their petty power. As to our Sovereign's Counsellors, Secretaries, and Domestic Servants; it will be acknowledged that he appears still to chuse those who are the best qualified to serve him, and at the same time the most acceptable to the majority of the Nation. And who does not respect the private character, as well as the government of GEORGE THE THIRD?

In the whole, it appears, that our CONSTITUTION has not hitherto been injured or perverted in either of its great branches, *Juries*,—the Estates of *Parliament*,—or the *Sovereign* and his *Executive Servants*,—in the course of the present war.

4. PUBLIC OR POPULAR OPINION, with respect to *National Affairs* and *Public æconomy*, is expressed, in Britain; not only in the deliberations and enactments of the Estates in Parliament; but, occasionally from the Pulpit,—in Newspapers, periodical works, and fugitive publica-



tions of all sorts,—in the debates, resolutions, and declarations of political clubs and associations,—in debates and resolutions of County and of Borough-Courts,—in petitions addressed to any one or to all of the three Estates of Parliament,—and in the conversation which passes at all places of Public meeting, concerning the news of the day.

Now, I cannot think, that the tone of popular opinion, expressed in all these various modes, has so changed, since the commencement of the present war, as to express either a decline of the national spirit,—a decay of the national wisdom,—a general firm persuasion that the part of Britain in the present war, is unwise or unjust,—a persuasion that the British Constitution is not perfect, so far as the works of humanity are not unsusceptible of perfection,—or a disposition to accomplish political reform, otherwise than by communicating “*true information ; without the use of force, to impress it against conviction ; without any address to the passions, which might win a prejudiced and undiscerning assent ; without the use of such terms, as might render it ambiguous or unintelligible.*”

From the *pulpits*, whether of the Established Churches of Scotland, or England,—or of dissenters from these churches, of whatever peculiarity of religious persuasion ; we hear hardly any thing,

thing, in respect to national affairs or public œconomy, but exhortations to loyalty and sober patriotism ; vindications of the war, as simply and directly defensive, and necessary ; prayers for its success ; and expressions of horror at the atheism and wickedness of our enemies.

The newspapers, periodical publications, and fugitive pamphlets of the passing day, are, indeed, divided ; in them all there is much dullness and folly, much pointless wit, much vapid humour, much inconclusive argument, much uncertainty and falsehood. But, with this alloy, there is also a profusion of the richest and most splendid materials. They are, many of them, admirably eloquent upon the defects of the British Constitution ; upon the folly, injustice, and ruinous tendency of the present war ; upon the weakness and ignorance of administration, and the mischievous tendency of all the present views and measures of government.—With others, however, and those certainly not the minor number, every thing relative to the measures of government, to the abilities and conduct of administration, is not less extravagantly praised. The general tenor of the faithful information and calm, able reasoning, on both sides, is such as to confirm the unprejudiced and intelligent reader in a persuasion that the present war, is, on the side of the Allied Powers, the least unjust that was ever undertaken by any nation ; And  
that

that the British Constitution is as perfect as human institutions can well be, in the present state of human knowledge and virtue,—and by the Executive Government, obeyed, and maintained in its full vigour.

To *Political Associations*, of whatever temper,—whether *Constitutional*, or *Friends to the People*, I must confess myself no friend. Nor do I suppose, that any lawyer or politician, would be able to maintain successfully, that such associations, whatever their professions may be, are not,—although forbidden by no positive, precise, and direct law,—diametrically opposite to the fundamental principles of the British Constitution. If they be ill attended ; with few members ; without any tide of popularity in their favour ; uttering no loud and decisive voice concerning public affairs ; pursuing no secret, artful measures, to influence the general sentiments of the community : They are then good for nothing,—societies, only in name. If, on the other hand, their members be many, vigilant, and active ; if they interfere boldly, artfully, and clamorously, to influence the public sentiments : They then virtually and unavoidably, usurp from the legal and constituted authorities ; because it is not compatible with their existence to do otherwise ; a considerable share of the efficient public power ; reducing those constituted authorities to vain shadows. However these things may be ; it is certain

certain that the loudest and most prevalent tone in the voices of all such associations through the Empire, is, now, at length, for war, and in praise of the British Constitution.

As to debates and resolutions of *Borough* and of *County Courts*; we hear either of no such debates and resolutions, or of none that do not proclaim the excellence of our Constitution, and ardently urge the necessity of persevering in the prosecution of the war.

Who *addresses*; but to express confidence in the King and his Parliament; but to offer his life and fortune for the repression of French anarchy?

Mingling, without scruple, without jealousy, without insidious intention, with honest and intelligent men, without distinction of parties; I cannot draw any other conclusion from my personal knowledge; than that in public and open *conversation*, a very large majority express themselves to be passionately attached to the British Constitution, and warm for the prosecution of the war,—*so far as they comprehend its objects, the degrees of its past success, our power to prosecute it, and its probable effects.*

In the whole; popular opinion is clearly and decisively, in all the above modes of its enunciation, friendly to the present government and constitution of Britain; and because friendly to these,

these,—earnest for the prosecution of the war, to the final accomplishment of its objects.

WHETHER, then, we consider the Population,—the Capital Stock,—the Public Revenue, debts, and credit,—the Government and Constitution,—or the Tone of the Popular Opinion, of the British nation: We perceive nothing that can justly induce us to consider the national strength as exhausted by the war; that can lead us to suppose our civil constitution to be undermined or shaken by it; or that can seem to represent the general sense of the nation, as regarding it in the light of unjust, or hopeless.

## X.

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*On the Conduct of the Neutral Powers, and the manner in which they ought to be treated by the Allies.*

**I**N every martial contention among the Powers of Europe, there always will, and it is to be wished, that there always may—some Powers remain Neutral. The smaller and weaker Powers will desire to see those which are the most formidable, weakened by mutual contests. Such as are the most considerable, will overlook the petty contests of those which are weak. One great Power will rejoice to see another Power, equally great, harrassed and humbled by the hostilities of the smaller Powers ; unless indeed that such a great Power should appear likely to swallow

low up its puny adversaries. Prodigious advantages in commerce always result to Neutral Powers from wars among their neighbours. Nations may be so situate, in respect to two of their neighbours at war, as to be incapable of taking part with either, without being exposed to ruin from the other. The good reasons are innumerable, which may induce more or fewer of the Nations of Europe, to remain always neutral, when the rest go to war.

It is probable, that political jealousies, regard to commercial advantages, the dread of commotions among their subjects, and secret bribes and subsidies, have decided the conduct of those nations, within the circle of European policy, which have continued neutral, during the present war with France.

It was the duty and true policy of the Allies with respect to them :

1st, To have engaged them, if possible, in the war, by fair persuasion, by bribes, by subsidies, or by threatenings :

2dly, If they could not be thus induced to take part against the French ; the Allied Powers ought, next, to have striven, by all means, to prevail with them to observe, with respect to the French, only a *seeming* neutrality, but a *real* hostility ; and to grant to the Allies, every possible aid, while

while they might pretend to be entirely neutral:

3dly, If even this could not be obtained; it might then have been well, if the Allies had expressed an apparent satisfaction with the neutrality, observed with fairness and strictness; but had set themselves to watch the intercourse between the French and the Neutral Powers, with jealous vigilance, yet still without infringing the rights of Neutrality.

4thly, It was next, their duty and interest, to allure the Neutral Powers by commercial advantages, to give to *them*, a preference in trade and correspondence, above the French.

5thly, It was their next interest, in respect to the Neutral Powers, to employ towards them, a *commercial management*, which might have rendered them unable to supply the French, with those articles which they chiefly wanted, for the Prosecution of the war; and to have artfully shared with them, those spoils of which the French were to be plundered in the way of traffic.

It is not certain, whether at the commencement of the contest, the Allies might not act towards the Powers which have continued Neutral, with a negligence and arrogance, which, in part, disposed *them* to adopt the conduct they have followed. It is doubtful, whether the Ambassa-



dors of the Allies have been always able, vigilant, and prudent, in their conduct at the Neutral Courts. If the Allies ever attempted to *force* the Neutral Powers to be aiding to them, and Neutral to the French only ; this was truly a very foolish policy. We may be well assured, that the Neutral Powers will, in spite of the Allies, favour the French, at least in the way of trade, while they shall find it gainful to themselves ; but that, as soon as the Allies shall become the best customers to the Neutral Nations, *they* will then obtain the preference over the French. It was folly to suppose, that, in an age, and a quarter of the globe, so very commercial, the French were to be reduced to absolute want of food, raiment, arms, or ammunition ; while they had money or commodities with which to purchase those necessities for war, at prices extravagantly high. But the Allies and the Neutral Powers, between them, have, by this time, left the French only a small portion of their former national capital, wherewith to prosecute revolution and war. If the war shall be continued ; it is probable, that the Neutral Powers may be dealt with by the Allies, in a manner somewhat more artful and less openly arrogant. They will then become still less and less favourable to the French ; to the Allies, more and more friendly.

## XI.

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### *CONCLUSION, respecting the farther PROSECUTION of the war, and a FINAL PACIFICATION.*

**T**HE general conclusions which may be fairly inferred from all the preceding articles of information, taken together, are ;

That FRANCE is so much exhausted by the war, as to be absolutely unable to continue it ;—*on account* of its want of men, money, clothes, provisions, and ammunition ; *on account* of the fluctuations, instability, and enfeebled energy of its Government ; *on account* of the particular tone of Public Opinion, which now prevails among the whole French Nation :

That not one of THE COMBINED POWERS has suffered, in the depopulation of its territories, and the destruction of its National Capital, a tenth  
part

reform, to sacrifice one part of their innocent brethren to the fancied good of the rest :

To maintain those Political Establishments in Europe, upon which human Society has improved, with a rapidity, and to a pitch of varied perfection, unexampled in former Ages :

To preserve those due proportions among the mutual relations, and the respective powers of the different governments in Europe, which seem necessary to maintain them all, secure from being shattered by external violence :

To protect the Subjects and Territories of the several Allied Powers from immediate invasion by the French.

Are those truths, at this time, less certain, or less important, than when the present war was undertaken ? Is it now less the duty of Government, than it *then* was,—to maintain unshaken, those forms of Social Order, which are known, by experience, to have been, whatever their imperfections, most signally subservient to the improvement of human nature ? Is it, at this time, of less consequence, to preserve the relative powers of the different Governments of Europe, *in equilibrio*, than it was, three or four years ago ? Are we and our Allies, sufficiently secured by the past events of the war, against all danger from the mad ambition of French Republicanism ? Have we wasted our blood and treasure in a pursuit

suit which is to be relinquished, when we are just about to obtain its object ?

SHOULD, which I rather hope, Popular Opinion, through all the Allied Nations, and the concordant policy of all their Governments, agree to continue the war, at least for another campaign ? Then, it is easy to see that their plan of operation should be,

1st, To continue on the defensive, till the opening of another year :

2dly, To open the campaign with an invasion of the French coasts ; such as may join to the Royalists in La Vendee, all the Emigrants, that can be embodied in arms ; and if any fortified places can be gained, and a constant communication maintained with the coasts, adding to the Emigrants, a large body of British and German troops :

3dly, To publish through France and all Europe, a SCHEME OF PACIFICATION, declaring MONSIEUR sole regent of France, and with some of the other Princes of the Blood, guardian of LOUIS THE xvii ; offering an amnesty to all but the *Regicides*, and even to them, the alternative of perpetual exile ; restoring all *lands* to those who were their owners, at the solemn establishment of the Constitution of 1789 ; forbidding enquiries concerning dilapidated moveable property ; re-establishing the church, on the footing on  
which

which it was placed by the Constitution of 1789 ; constituting the *princes* of the Blood, with the most honourable of the principal *military*, and *Juridical* Nobility,—an hereditary Senate, to form a *Separate House* in the Legislature ; establishing on a broad basis of elective Representation, a *Second House* in the Legislature, for the Commons ; making the King still one of the Estates of Parliament, with a liberal and fixed Civil List ; Reducing the territory of France to its former limits ; speaking with tenderness of all that is past ; and granting the protection of the Allied Powers to all parties of the French Nation against the revenge of one another &c. :

4thly, To engage the Swiss, at any expence of subsidy, to take part against the French Republicans :

5thly, Then, to press upon the French, as it were, with one common effort, round the whole outline of mutual offence and defence ; so as to call out their force, without risk of ruin to the Allied Armies, by rash exposure on any quarter.

6thly, *Then* to fall upon them, on the side of Holland and Flanders, with the most dreadful *impetus*, possible and the most powerful assemblage of force :

7thly, In the mean time, to exterminate them from their piratical nests on the passage to the East Indies ; to block up their ports ; to commit

mit to the Neutral Nations, the management of those parts of our trade which might be in danger from French Privateers; to withhold, or buy up all stores with which the French might be supplied; And thus to trample upon the neck of the Crocodile, and crush its eggs to dust.

ON THE OTHER HAND, if the Allied Powers, in a fit of despondency and faint-heartedness, or perhaps betrayed by domestic treachery,—will make peace with the French, without farther prosecution of the war, and without accomplishing the abolition of republicanism:

Then, let the BELGIANS, at least, be erected into a separate State, which may check, annoy, and continually rival the French:

Let the ancient limits of the Dutch Provinces be re-established:

Let the frontier districts of Germany, now in the hands of the French, be evacuated and restored to their former masters:

Let Britain secure as many acquisitions as possible, to its naval strength and commercial advantages:

Let us, in the name of humanity, if we cannot procure the restoration of the Emigrants to their Country, Estates, and Honours,—at least obtain a sum for them, from the French Government, with which they may be enabled to esta-

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blish some new Commonwealth or Kingdom, amid the wilds of the Western World :

Let us be thankful that Britain, the most remote from the scene of war, and the most secure from its invasion, has, internally, suffered less by the series of hostilities, than any other of the Powers at war :

Let us allow, that our King and his Ministers have acted only upon the sense of the Nation ; and that we have no reason, from experience, to believe, that any of our other political leaders could have conducted the war with more perfect skill, or happier success, than our present administration ; although these have not avoided such errors as are incident to humanity :

Let us return with new ardour to the honest arts of Peace ; to the correction of vice ; to the prosecution of industry ; to the advancement and diffusion of knowledge ; to the improvement and exaltation of virtue !

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